The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1892.

*** *The postal service under the present Administration has been, in the experience of this journal, uniformly uncertain and steadily deteriorating. Of late its delays and miscarriages in the case of the* NATION'S *delivery to its subscribers have become so bad as to be intolerable. The Publisher, in a last effort to correct this injury, solicits prompt notification of failures and irregularities, by postal card or otherwise.*

The Week.

THE recent election seems to establish the fact that there is a twenty-year period of "tidal waves" in our Presidential contests. In 1832 Jackson, running for re-election, secured 219 electoral votes, to 49 for Clay, 11 for Floyd, and 7 for Wirt. In 1852 Pierce beat Scott "all to pieces," winning 254 electoral votes to Scott's 42. In 1872 Grant, as a candidate for a second term, swept the country, securing 286 out of 366 electoral votes. Finally, in 1892, Cleveland has been elected by from 267 to 290 out of 444 electoral votes. The only one of the revolutions just mentioned worthy to be compared with that of the present year is the overthrow of the Whig party in 1852. In 1848 Taylor had carried fifteen States, including Pennsylvania, and New York, which latter turned the scales in his favor, but in 1852 poor Scott saved only four of them—Vermont and Massachusetts in the North, and Kentucky and Tennessee in the South; Pennsylvania giving Pierce over 19,000 plurality, and New York 27,000. The dimensions of the Democratic victory this year are fully appreciated only when a few comparisons with 1888 are made. Four years ago Harrison carried all of the twenty-two Northern States except Connecticut and New Jersey. The number of Northern States has since been increased to twenty-eight, but Harrison has only fifteen (or sixteen, if he finally gets Ohio) out of the increased number. These are among the significant changes which the revolution has produced:

	1888. Rep. plurality.	1892. Dem. plurality.
New York	14,373	45,000
Ohio	19,599	Very close.
Indiana	2,348	10,000
Illinois	22,104	20,000
Wisconsin	21,321	15,000

It may be added that Ohio and Wisconsin have gone strongly Republican in every previous Presidential election since the party ran its first candidate in 1856, and Illinois in every one since 1860.

There was nothing in the late election more impressive than the conduct of the voters in Ohio. Outside the canvassing which was done by the Congressional candidates, neither of the great parties made more than a perfunctory campaign in the State. The Democrats paid little or no attention to it, conceding it to Harrison by from 20,000 to 25,000 majority. The Republicans felt so sure of it that they allowed all their best speakers, Sherman, McKinley, and Foraker, to go into other States to help carry them for Harrison. Yet all the time the Ohio voters were thinking over the issues at stake, and, when Election Day arrived, they went to the polls in silence and recorded such a verdict against McKinley that the expected Republican majority, which had not failed that party for thirty-six years, was almost wiped out. This quiet, uninfluenced proceeding is the most eloquent testimony adduced by the election as to the real meaning of the result. It shows that campaign agitation and campaign committees were merely the people's agents in recording the verdict, and that, had there been no campaign made, the people would have reached substantially the same conclusion that they did.

The loss of Ohio by the Republicans is the *coup de grâce* to the McKinley Bill. We do not wonder that McKinley himself refuses to be interviewed on the subject. Whether Ohio has gone for Cleveland or for Harrison, she has become a "doubtful" State, and has elected eleven Democratic Congressmen out of twenty-one. This last achievement shows how a gerrymander may serve to confound the gerrymanderers. The redistricting of the State was made with the confident expectation of returning only five Democrats to sixteen Republicans. Districts were carved in the most curious shapes. The most outrageous of all was the one cut out for Congressman Harter. This was the "shoestring" district of Ohio. If it had been carved in the State of Mississippi, it would have been pointed at by the Republicans as an example of total depravity and as a new argument for the Force Bill. This district begins with Knox County in the centre of the State, and runs northward to Lake Erie, embracing the counties of Knox, Morrow, Richland, Ashland, Huron, and Lorain. It has a normal Republican majority of 1,600. It has now elected Mr. Harter by about 2,000—a change of 3,600 in a single district. This is one of the most signal triumphs that have been achieved by any individual this year, in close touch with Mr. Cleveland's and Gov. Russell's. Mr. Harter has gained this victory, too, as the most pronounced anti-silver man in Congress of either party. Altogether Ohio comes out of this fight as the banner State, considering what she has been in the past, and that she has a "Napoleon" for Governor.

The election leaves Senator Sherman as a most impressive object-lesson in morals. He was the most prominent and the ablest of the old Republicans who gave their services to the party this year, and he sinned against light from his first speech to his last. Other Republican orators may have been self-deceived: we are willing to concede that there were streaks of honesty even in McKinley's egregious folly; but Mr. Sherman ate his own words and went in the teeth of his own convictions in the spirit of the basest trimmer and truckler. He is left without even the unworthy excuse that his recreancy to conviction was necessary to success. He says he believes Mr. Cleveland owes his victory to the tariff question, and that he is glad, since the Democrats have elected their President, that they will also be in full control of both houses of Congress, so that the entire burden of responsibility will fall on their shoulders. But he cannot resist dropping into demagogism when he adds that he "supposes they will carry out their ideas of tariff legislation, and that we will have an opportunity of testing practically the two systems of protection and free trade as applied to this country"—knowing perfectly well, as he does, that such a thing as free trade is quite impossible. What is possible, and what is expected by the country, is the adoption of a policy such as Senator Sherman himself so well outlined years ago when he said:

> "Every advance towards a free exchange in commodities is an advance in civilization. Every obstruction to a free exchange is born of the same narrow, despotic spirit which planted castles on the Rhine to plunder peaceful commerce. Every obstruction to commerce is a tax upon consumption. Every facility to a free exchange cheapens commodities, increases trade and production, and promotes civilization. Nothing is worse than sectionalism within a nation, and nothing is better for the peace of nations than unrestricted freedom of intercourse."

The Philadelphia *Press* publishes an interview with Senator Sherman in which he repeats his desire that the so-called Sherman Silver Law may be repealed, and says that he shall move its repeal in the Senate this winter. He thinks that a repealing bill will pass the Senate, and that the only obstacle it will encounter will be in the House. All the benefit that was expected from the bill, he says, has been realized, and there is no need of its further continuance. This latter saying is open to as many different interpretations as a Delphic oracle, but we presume it means that the bill was expected to hold the silver-producing States to the Republican party; but since three-fourths of them have voted against Harrison, there is nothing more to be expected from that quarter. We hope that Mr. Sherman will not allow himself to be deterred from the right course by his apprehensions of what the House

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will do or will not do. It would be a great advantage to the incoming Administration to have the silver question settled by the present Congress, and this can be easily done, as we set forth in another column, by carrying into effect the seventh plank of the Democratic National platform.

The one thing which would round out the revenges of time so conspicuous in our recent politics, would be the passage of a free-wool bill by a Republican Senate. Just five years ago next month President Cleveland sent in his now historic message specifically demanding free wool. There is good reason for thinking that a Republican Senate would grant in December, 1892, what it jeered at in December, 1887. More than one Republican Senator from the West is prepared to "bow to the will of the people" on free wool, lest the people should bow him clean out of the Senate and public life. Even those portentous wool-growers, Delano and Lawrence, would not have the audacity to lift their voices in opposition, if, indeed, they ever get back their voices at all after the terrors they have passed through in their own beloved Ohio. We hope to see some Democratic Senator move early in the session that the Committee on Finance be discharged from further consideration of the House Free-Wool Bill now before it. Once fairly before the Senate, we believe the bill would pass without debate.

One of the thinkers of the Republican party who has not yet "had enough" is the editor of the Philadelphia *Press*, the Hon. Charles Emory Smith, President Harrison's Minister to Russia. He says in his paper of Friday that the "wide sweep of the disaster" can be interpreted in only one way. "It means a revolt against the party on the leading and central issue of the fight. It means a reaction against the Republican protective policy as the people understand it." He adds:

> "If this were an intelligent, reasoning, deliberate judgment, it would be conclusive, at least until experience had demonstrated the mistake, and it might be a finality. If the people had struck the blow with a clear comprehension of what they were doing, it would have a lasting significance. But, as a matter of fact, the blow was struck under the influence of the most shameless misrepresentations and of the most pitiable misunderstandings."

This is the old explanation of 1890. It was said then that the people had risen in revolt against the McKinley Bill because they did not understand it. Various periods of time were fixed by the Republican authorities in which the work of education was certain to be accomplished. Mr. McKinley said two years would be sufficient, and this was the favorite period of other authorities. Two years have passed, during which the education has been carried on under the leadership of McKinley in person, and at the close comes a revolt far more serious than the first. McKinley intimates that he is satisfied. Two knock-downs are enough for him. Various other leaders take the same view. How long does the *Press* think the period should be before the verdict of the people could be called "deliberate"?

So far as the election teaches anything, it shows that the people were not at all alarmed by the dangers of wildcat currency. The only States in which the Republicans exhibited the wild cat with much apprehension of his teeth and claws were Illinois and Wisconsin. During the last two weeks of the campaign they dropped everything else. Here they circulated tens of thousands of photographs and woodcuts of old State bank-notes with the rate of discount on each, together with samples of Thompson's old counterfeit detector. They were glad enough to find something to talk about other than the McKinley tariff and the Force Bill. But the result shows that the people were not in the least alarmed by this scarecrow. It would not be correct to say that they endorsed by their votes a repeal of the tax on State bank-notes, still less that they endorsed wildcat currency. They simply ignored that as a vital issue of the campaign, or, if they took it into account at all, they relied upon Mr. Cleveland's letter of acceptance, which promised that there should be no bad money inflicted upon the people with his consent—a promise which stirred up our friend Mr. Henry C. Lea to an alarming extent, and led him to anticipate a smashing defeat of the Democratic party.

We are glad to say that the *Independent* was the only religious paper, as far as our observation has gone, which in this canvass issued a certificate of "Christian character" to a candidate. The gross impropriety of this practice had, we thought, been sufficiently demonstrated in 1884, and again in 1888, to put a stop to it, because several of the "Christian statesmen" of those years were subsequently found out and exposed. The abstract objections to it are obvious enough. Nobody should be elected to a responsible office simply because he has a "Christian character." A man who had no other equipment might ruin the country. Moreover, so full of pitfalls is politics that there is hardly any politician who can live up to a certificate of "Christian character," and if he fails after getting the certificate, he brings religious professions into disrepute among the worldlings. For all these reasons, and half-a-dozen others, it has been a matter of rejoicing to all intelligent men who care much for either religion or morals that the "old pastors" kept out of the last canvass, and that, as a rule, religious newspapers refrained from bolstering the candidates up by accounts of their piety. The *Independent*, after its experience with Wanamaker in 1888, ought to have been the last to prove an exception.

The *Bulletin* of the American Iron and Steel Association says: "Let us all hope for the best, even if our industrial enemies all the world over are to-day rejoicing with exceeding great joy." Our industrial enemies, whoever they may be, are in fact keeping a profound silence, except in Canada, where they are saying that if the United States goes for lower tariffs, Canada must do the same. The truth is, that the nations of the continent of Europe are dominated by protectionists. Instead of being rejoiced by the prospect of freer trade in this country, they are afraid of our example. Their governing classes are apprehensive that the people will compel them to follow suit and lower their tariffs also. For this reason they are exceedingly quiet, but are doing a great deal of thinking just the same. In England the manufacturers know perfectly well that the United States is their only prospective rival in the markets of the world. Joseph Chamberlain told the assembled Cobdenites this fact at their Ship Hotel dinner nearly ten years ago, and he said then that he should look not without apprehension on the adoption of free trade by the United States. Since that time, and even longer, the public opinion of Great Britain has been, on the whole, either indifferent to our tariffs or hopeful that we would continue to wear our self-imposed fetters. Of course, particular trades have been injured by the McKinley Bill, but British opinion in the large sense has not in recent years favored tariff reform in this country.

One result of the election, writ large enough for the dullest eye not to miss, is the perfect folly of supposing any longer that Federal office-holders are efficient electioneering agents. Never has the civil service been so openly used to further the election of a President as this present year. Nominated by office-holders, President Harrison was content to let his subordinates of every branch in the service neglect their duties and often violate the law in their strenuous efforts to keep themselves and him in office. All this served but to accelerate and emphasize his disastrous defeat. On the lowest partisan grounds, the victorious Democrats ought now to extend the civil-service laws as regards regulation both of appointment to office and political activity in it.

The Republicans save Minnesota, but the only thing that prevented the State from keeping company with Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana was the fact that the Republican candidate for Governor was an earnest and courageous tariff-reformer—so earnest and courageous that in the Fiftieth Congress he voted against his party for the Mills Bill. This is the platform which Mr. Nelson made for himself in explaining his position as Congressman in 1888, and which alone reconciled the

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people of Minnesota to his election as Governor in 1892:

"In the face of the fact that so many of the barest necessaries of life are loaded down with the highest kind of tariff taxes, it makes me sick at heart to think that there are leading men on this side the Chamber who can find at this juncture, and under these circumstances, no other field for tax reduction than the internal-revenue taxes on spirits and tobacco. Surely these things are not the diet on which the poor laboring man keeps his family. Worthier, better, and juster, it seems to my mind, would it be to give our people—the toiling masses—cheaper food, cheaper fuel, cheaper clothing, and cheaper shelter; cheaper because released from the heavy and unnecessary bondage of high-tariff taxes. I will put free sugar, free coal, free salt, and free lumber against free whiskey and free tobacco under all circumstances, and so will the great mass of the American people."

The *Herald's* Valparaiso despatch says that there is "great rejoicing in Chili over the election of Cleveland," that "flags are flying from the residences of Americans," and that the general hope is expressed that "an American gentleman will be sent as Minister to Chili." It also reports rejoicing at Buenos Ayres, where it is maintained that "Harrison's defeat means a conciliatory policy towards the South American republics." Of course we know that all true patriots ought to hang their heads in shame and humiliation when foreign countries admire us, and still we think there are extenuating circumstances in the case of these South Americans. They have no intention of everlastingly ruining us by dumping their cheap goods on our shores; what they want to sell us is the raw materials which will enable us to do the dumping on other people. Moreover, the Republicans have cautiously admitted that we can trade with South America without being guilty of more than one or two of the seven deadly sins. Thus there is reason to hope that the present happiness of Chili and Argentina may be regarded by us with something less than that keen sense of abasement and alarm which we are bound to feel whenever our public acts are approved by any of our natural enemies.

M. de Varigny, a well-known French publicist, has an article in the last number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* on "Political Life in the United States" which contains a great deal of interesting matter. But the most entertaining passage is that which gives an account of the part Dr. Burchard played in the campaign of 1884. After speaking of the enormous circulation of campaign documents which takes place in a Presidential canvass, he quotes the observations thereon of an "agent électoral expérimenté," who told him that the way in which for the most part the contents of these documents reached the voters was through the speeches of the stump orators, as people had not time to read them. "Of all these publications," he said, "the only ones which tell are those which in a brief, concise form sum up the arguments most easily understood by the masses." Then, says M. de Varigny:

"He cited as a model of this sort of document a card of which some millions of copies were printed in the last Presidential campaign. It was the work of the Reverend Burchard, and contained only three words—'*Rum Romanism Rebellion.*' It was profusely distributed on the Sunday before election, at the close of divine service; it was posted on the walls and slipped under all the doors. The election took place the following Tuesday, and this card, launched at the last moment by the Republican Committee presided over by Mr. Blaine, as it could not be answered for want of time, rallied to the Republican party a large number of electors who till then had not made up their minds, as it convinced them that the election of a Democratic candidate would result in an increased consumption of ardent spirits (*accroissement de la consommation des spiritueux*), the predominance of Catholicism, and a new war of secession. 'The Three Rs,' said one of the party chiefs, 'gave us the victory in the Puritan States.'"

The World's Fair directors on Friday adopted a resolution favoring the opening of the gates on Sunday provided the machinery be not run, and allowing every nation to hold within the grounds such religious services as it may desire. They say, with great force, that as all the nations of the earth have been invited to attend the Fair, it would be highly discourteous and inhospitable to inform them that they cannot do on Sunday what they would do were they at home. Furthermore, the resolution says: "The closing of the gates on Sunday means that thousands of artisans and mechanics, to whom the Exhibition will be of inestimable advantage, will not be able to attend it." The directors also point out the desirability of opening the gates on that day in order that visitors from different portions of the Union may meet socially at their State buildings. In order to accomplish all this, it will be necessary to rescind the action taken by Congress at its last session making the Government appropriation contingent on Sunday closing, and there ought to be no question that this will be done.

Especial interest is shown in the trial for heresy of Prof. H. P. Smith before the Presbytery of Cincinnati, for the reason that it is justly regarded as an incident of the more famous Briggs case, with all its momentous implications for the Presbyterian Church. Indeed, it is fair to infer that the Cincinnati Presbyterians design their trial to furnish at once an object-lesson and a rebuke to the Presbytery of New York. When the latter dismissed the case against Prof. Briggs a year ago, laments were nowhere more grievous than in Cincinnati, the leaders of the denomination in that city fairly groaning over the poor showing made by the New Yorkers, and plainly intimating that if they could only get their hands on the accused professor, they would make short work of him. Prof. Smith's heresies are believed to be of a mild character, consisting mostly of sympathy with Dr. Briggs, which he has so far defied the Cincinnati climate as to express, and of various intimations that possibly the critics know more than the ecclesiastics about the literary problems connected with the Old Testament. It is already clear, however, that he will be found guilty, the majority of the jury that is trying him having already decided that way in advance of the evidence, and the result will no doubt be hailed as a prophesy of the fate that awaits Prof. Briggs. Nor is there any doubt, we suppose, that, in the present temper of the Presbyterian Church, it would promptly decapitate the latter gentleman if it could immediately get his head on the block. But he has a far better chance than Prof. Smith to secure delay, and thus perhaps win a decision eventually on the merits of the case, not on ignorant prejudice. He has a better jury to argue before, a case that is in a better tactical position, and himself serves far heavier guns. It is understood that personally he is indifferent to the outcome, but feels it his duty to make the stoutest fight possible in the interest of the liberal party in his church. His contest is the main one, and Prof. Smith's case is only a skirmish.

The latest South American war scare has been traced to its source, and the result leaves the Associated Press in an unpleasant situation. The rumor of an alliance between Peru and Argentina for the purpose of an immediate attack on Chili seems first to have found mention in an irresponsible Chilian paper, from which it was copied into an English paper published in Chili, the *Western Courier*. When the latter reached Panama, its article was reproduced in the *Star and Herald* of November 3, and a copy of the latter paper was mailed to this city by the Panama agent of the Associated Press. It was immediately put on the wires for circulation, both in this country and in Europe. One result was shown in the reports of the London market for November 11: "Chilian bonds fell heavily, but recovered, closing ½ per cent. lower." Now, be it remembered that the rumor was at least eighteen days old when it reached this city, and that a cable is regularly working between this country and Chili, over which some hint of the affair would have been certain to come in the meantime, if there had been anything in it, and over which a ten-word despatch of inquiry would have demonstrated the falsity of the "news." But the Associated Press, with gross carelessness, swallowed the story, which was suspicious on its face, and without investigation lent itself to an attack on South American credit. We believe that this was done unwittingly, with no stock-jobbing purpose; but it was certainly done in a most reckless manner, and ought to serve as a fresh warning against the besetting sin of press associations, which is to get some bit of sensational news regardless of the authenticity of it.

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THE THIRD STAGE OF OUR INDUSTRIAL ENFRANCHISEMENT.

If, as we believe, the elections of last week were not a revulsion—not a mere swinging of the pendulum—but a revolution, Mr. Cleveland's place in history is secure. The first revolution was that with which we associate the name and the fame of Washington as leader; the second was the abolition of slavery, for which Lincoln stands; and the third is that which gives us at last a prospect of attaining industrial and commercial freedom—and this we owe undeniably to the courage and self-abnegation of Mr. Harrison's predecessor and successor. These great tides have followed in a natural order: it was necessary that the British yoke should be thrown off before we could rise up against the tyranny of the Slave Power, and that contest had to be disposed of before the lesser tyranny of Protection could be attacked and brought to an end. We may, therefore, in our rejoicings over the defeat of the Republican party, properly bracket Lincoln with Cleveland as co-author of our present deliverance—the one unconscious, the other conscious. As John Stuart Mill said, at the London breakfast to Mr. Garrison in 1867:

"The other lesson which it appears to me important to enforce, amongst the many that may be drawn from our friend's life, is this: If you aim at something noble and succeed in it, you will generally find that you have succeeded not in that alone. A hundred other good and noble things which you never dreamed of will have been accomplished by the way, and the more certainly the sharper and more agonizing has been the struggle which preceded the victory. The heart and mind of a nation are never stirred from their foundations without manifold good fruits. In the case of the great American contest, these fruits have been already great, and are daily becoming greater. The prejudices which beset every form of society—and of which there was a plentiful crop in America—are rapidly melting away. The chains of proscription have been broken; it is not only the slave who has been freed—the mind of America has been emancipated. The whole intellect of the country has been set thinking about the fundamental questions of society and government; and the new problems which have to be solved, and the new difficulties which have to be encountered, are calling forth new activity of thought, and that great nation is saved, probably for a long time to come, from the most formidable danger of a completely settled state of society and opinion—intellectual and moral stagnation."

Let any one reflect upon these words, and then remember how, four years ago, the opponents of a protective tariff were held up as un-American and even treasonable, how the very flag of their common country was denied them by the Republicans, who seized it as their lawful badge, and how the autocracy of Speaker Reed, with the full assent of his party, suppressed debate, on the ground that the minority was sure to be outvoted in the end, and so had no rights which the majority was bound to respect. All this was in behalf of an "intellectual and moral stagnation" such as we long ago saw retributively overtake the protection State *par excellence*, and which was bound to spread over the entire Union if the Republican rule continued in force. It was precisely this stagnation which the Compromise of 1850 was intended to secure on the subject of slavery, and against which the Free Soil and Republican parties were a protest. Every abolitionist, even the most mealy-mouthed doubter of the divine right of slavery, was branded as a traitor, and had no protection from the flag of his country if he ventured into the domain of slavery. The Northern conscience was to be hushed, the freedom of speech and of the press to be extinguished. As far as it could bring about these conditions—by social ostracism and opprobrium, by insolent assumption of patriotism and philanthropy, and profuse charges of bribery by British gold—the Republican party became the direct heir of the Slave Power; while in the tariff it found an instrument of corruption not inferior to slavery itself, for the shaping of legislation to maintain its hold and that of the protected interests on the Government.

A hardly less curious paradox is that afforded by the affinity of latter-day Republicanism for the Jeffersonian variety. Each was at enmity with commerce, and Jefferson's Embargo and Madison's Non-Intercourse were effectually on a par with the McKinley Bill. In 1807 the planting interests of the West and South regarded the merchant with suspicion and contempt. In our day, the manufacturing interests have fastened the same odium upon him. The Home Market is but another name for the Embargo. By each, in the language of Josiah Quincy, a new writ was "executed upon a whole people—not, indeed, the old monarchical writ of *ne exeat regno*, but a new Republican writ, *ne exeat republica.*" Our tariff laws have been framed on the assumption of essential dishonesty in the trading community; and the attempt to force citizens to buy only native products has logically led to the puerility of condemning those who have chosen to go abroad to satisfy their personal wants. The protectionist opposition to a copyright measure was, in the intellectual sphere, a revival of Non-Intercourse, with England in particular.

The three revolutions of which we began by speaking were all occasioned by restrictions upon industrial and commercial freedom. The author of the Stamp Act is reported to have told a visitor from the colonies that the object of it "was not merely revenue, 'but,' said he, 'you Americans have spread too much canvas upon the ocean.'" And Sabine says of the three-pence the pound duty on tea: "I must dissent from the common view of it. To me it was not, as it has been regarded, a question of *taxation*, but essentially, like all the others between the merchants and the Crown, one of *commerce*. The statements of Hutchinson, the debates in Parliament, and the State papers and the documents which I have examined, all go to prove that the object of the mother country was mainly to break up the contraband trade of the colonial merchants with Holland and her possessions, and to give to her own East India Company the supply of the colonial markets."

"There were," continues the same writer, "no less than twenty-nine laws which restricted and bound down colonial industry. Neither of these laws touched so much as the 'southwest side of a hair' of an 'abstraction,' and hardly one of them, until the passage of the Stamp Act, imposed a direct 'tax.' They were aimed at the North, and England lost the affection of the mercantile and maritime classes of the northern colonies full a generation before she alienated the South. They forbade the use of waterfalls, the erecting of machinery, of looms and spindles, and the working of wood and iron; they set the King's arrow upon trees that rotted in the forest; they shut out markets for boards and fish, and seized sugar and molasses and the vessels in which these articles were carried, and they defined the limitless ocean as but a narrow pathway to such of the lands that it embosoms as wore the British flag. To me, then, the great object of the Revolution was to release LABOR from these restrictions. . . . For a higher or holier purpose than this, men have never expended their money or poured out their life-blood in battle!"

This is a perfect picture of Protection, which, while it pretends to call industries into life, taxes others out of existence by the same act, forbids others to come into being, and then determines arbitrarily the direction of commerce and the spread of canvas upon the ocean. It is the Quays, the McKinleys, the Shermans, and the Reeds who have shaken in our faces the fetters of the British Navigation Act and the Laws of Trade, and called upon us to fall down and worship them as the only patriotic and American policy. Finally, the antagonism of slavery to industrial freedom is too obvious to need dwelling upon. So those three typical emancipators, Washington, Lincoln, and Cleveland, were all moving on one grand line—towards the perfection of individual liberty, self-government, and unshackled interchange with all the nations of the earth.

THE NEED OF PROMPT ACTION.

In the ordinary course of things, the Congress which was elected on Tuesday week would not meet until a year from next December. This is, even under ordinary circumstances, a defect in our system which has long been recognized. It is unfortunate that there should ever be a year of interval between the formal expression of the popular judgment on public affairs and its embodiment in legislation. This is true even when the majority in the new Congress is of the same political complexion as the old one. That the representative, or agent, after he has received his instructions, should get promptly to his work, is a good rule of politics no less than of busi-

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ness, and is recognized as such in all constitutions but the Federal.

But the circumstances under which the Fifty-third Congress will meet are by no means ordinary. The electors have demanded a complete change in the fiscal policy of the country, and have emphasized the demand by making a complete change in all branches of the Government. The election of 1890 could hardly be called anything more than expression of disapproval of the McKinley Bill, because it left the Senate and the Presidency in the hands of the authors and promoters of the bill. But last week the voters did not confine themselves to rebuking the Republicans. They put the Democrats in their place, charging them with the power and responsibility of justifying in practice their criticisms of Republican policy. In other words, the duty is now imposed on the Democrats of revising the tariff in such a way as to promote and not to injure the industries of the country, and at the same time to put the necessaries and comforts of life within easier reach of the mass of the people. This means that they are not only pledged but ordered to make a great many changes in the duties imposed by the McKinley Bill. These changes being sure to come, it is of the last importance to the business world to know as soon as possible what they are to be, and when they are to take effect, in order to enable traders and manufacturers to make their plans for the future. Nothing could be more injurious to the industry and trade of the country, and nothing more injurious also to the Democratic party, than uncertainty, lasting from now to December, 1893, because uncertainty about the future in the commercial world means always great depression, and uncertainty caused by failure to legislate is just as serious as uncertainty caused by legislation. In fact, a Democratic Congress which met after keeping the business world in suspense for a year, would be discredited in the public eye from the outset.

We are speaking now on the assumption that the Senate will not between now and March 4, 1893, take in good part the warning which the elections have given, and pass the five tariff bills which were sent up from the House last spring, and which are now before them, namely—the bills putting wool on the free list, and reducing the duties on woollen goods; putting binding-twine, cotton ties, and cotton bagging, as also machinery for making cotton bagging, on the free list; repealing duties on silver-lead ore and tin plate. There was also a bill restricting the amount of wearing apparel which individuals may bring into the country to $100, which the House also sent up, but it seems to have been a concession to the Weaverites, rather than a serious proposal from serious statesmen. Measures of this sort, in which Custom-house officers are charged with the appraisal of the clothes in a citizen's trunk, to see whether he has more than the necessary covering for his nakedness, are worthier of ignorant fanatics like McKinley than sober-minded modern legislators. The Democratic financial policy should be in all such things large-minded, liberal, and modern, rather than petty, vexatious, and mediæval. The enlightened way to cut down the supply of clothing which people bring home from Europe is to make it no longer worth their while to get it abroad, by improving the quality of American goods. If American tailors want protection, the true way to get it is by insisting on cheap wool and good cloth, which is the result of cheap wool, and not by stripping their fellow-citizens on the wharf to see whether they have got ten dollars' worth more clothing than the American Republic can stand in the four-hundredth year of the discovery of the country.

If the majority of the Senate were wise, they would promptly bow to the popular will and pass these bills at once. Possibly they are wise enough, for the Republicans have a majority of only six, and it is by no means improbable that these six have been sufficiently impressed by the popular verdict to bow to it, and indicate their submission by doing promptly what they know will be done two or three months later by their successors. But whether they do or not, we hold that it is for the highest interest of the country, as well as of the Democratic party, that Mr. Cleveland should call a special session of the new Congress as soon as possible after his inauguration, and set them to work diligently on the tariff. They would be able to give their whole time to it, because they would have no appropriation bills to discuss or pass, or any other imperative business to attend to. If one-half what the Democratic orators and writers have been saying about the McKinley Bill be true, it is almost a crime to leave it untouched on the statute-book one week longer than is absolutely necessary. The Democratic party cannot afford to hang fire over it, now that it has got hold of it. Prompt repeal of it, or prompt modification of it, is what the business interests of the country call for, and in this we are sure Republican and Democratic business men are of one mind.

SILVER LEGISLATION.

AMONG the subjects calling for early attention in Congress is the everlasting silver question. Fortunately there is no longer any doubt what the initial step should be. The first clause of the silver resolution adopted by the Democratic National Convention calls for the repeal of the so-called Sherman Act of July 14, 1890. The resolution is in these words:

"Sec. 7. We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman Act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal."

It cannot be affirmed that this resolution was passed without due consideration, since more time was spent on the silver question by the platform-makers than upon all other subjects together. If there ever was a mandate given clearly and unmistakably by a political party to its representatives in Congress, it is embraced in the words here quoted. It should be added, too, that while there was much difference of opinion on other branches of the money question at Chicago, there was none as to this so-called Sherman Law. Everybody was in favor of killing that the first thing, without benefit of clergy. What has happened since the Convention adjourned? The silver men of all degrees went over straightway to the Weaver faction. They separated themselves from both the other parties, and put electoral and State tickets in the field wherever they thought they had a chance to win, and in many places where they knew they had no chance. In our opinion, they are a good riddance to both parties. Their room is by far better than their company. They have the same rights as other people, of course. It is entirely proper that they should advocate the policies they prefer and get as many votes as they can. We would not curtail their political privileges in the smallest degree. But we consider it one of the most fortunate results of this campaign that the Populists will hereafter "flock by themselves," instead of exercising an influence out of all proportion to their importance upon both the other parties. We now know just what they amount to. They have mustered about 27 electoral votes out of 444, and this is really an overestimate of their strength, since they were helped to the greater part of these votes by the Democratic organization. A fairer estimate is furnished by their strength in the new Congress, where they will have 13 members in a total of 356.

We presume that the Republicans will now cease playing with edged tools in order to get the votes of the mining camps (which they brought prematurely into the Union), seeing how grievously they have been disappointed by them in the recent election. There is no reason on that side of the house why the Sherman Law should remain on the statute-book, especially since Mr. Sherman himself has declared his willingness, if not his wish, to have it repealed. Hereafter both parties are at liberty to look upon the purchase of seven tons of silver bullion per day as the share of protection awarded to the mine-owners—as an offset to the McKinley Bill. There is nothing else in it now; and since McKinleyism has been so badly knocked out that some of its most devoted advocates admit that the country has condemned it, there is no reason why this bounty to the silver-producers should be continued any longer.

It is clear, therefore, that there are no

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political reasons for continuing to accumulate silver bullion. Not even the sentimental reasons clustering around the "dollar of the fathers" remain, since the coinage of these dollars has been stopped. The public mind is now in a mood, perhaps, to take a more comprehensive view than before of the economical bearings of the problem. The simple fact is that if we need more money, we can supply our deficiency with gold just as easily as with silver. Suppose that we take the present Sherman Law and substitute the word gold for silver wherever it occurs, making the proper change in the number of ounces purchased. The equivalent of 4,500,000 ounces of silver at our coinage ratio of 16 to 1 is approximately 281,000 ounces of gold. Now, if we amend the Sherman Law so as to provide that the Secretary of the Treasury shall purchase 281,000 ounces of gold each month, at a price not exceeding one dollar for 25 8-10 grains, of standard fineness, and to issue, in payment for such purchases of gold bullion, Treasury notes of the United States, which notes shall be redeemable on demand in coin at the Treasury of the United States or at the office of any assistant treasurer, and the said notes shall be legal tender for all debts, public and private, etc., such a law will give us everything in the way of additional currency that we get under the Sherman Silver Law. There is nobody so dull that he cannot see that. But such a law would do much more. It would restore confidence. It would remove every cloud from the business horizon. It would reestablish our credit abroad and turn the stream of capital once more in our direction, and this would accomplish more in the way of reviving business than anything else that Congress could possibly do. In addition to this it would remove the present embarrassment of the Treasury in redeeming its outstanding Treasury notes in gold, since the gold would be on hand all the time.

Simply stopping the purchase of silver bullion would have the same effect as making the suggested change in the phraseology of the law. Gold would flow in to the extent that it was needed, in obedience to an economic law older than any recorded history; and the mode of getting it into the form of paper currency would not be at all complicated. It would only be necessary to take it to the Treasury either as coin or as bullion, and ask for gold certificates. It is true that the law at present does not allow the issue of gold certificates smaller than $20. But that is only a mechanical difficulty. A law of ten lines authorizing the issue of gold certificates of the same denominations as silver certificates would cure that defect. Perhaps the public would not be able to see the operation of this natural law so readily as that of a statute law providing for the regular purchase of gold bullion and the issue of Treasury notes therefor. We hope that some member of Congress will move the repeal of the Sherman Law, or such an amendment of it as is here suggested, as soon as Congress meets.

SECRET VOTING.

CAREFUL observers in both parties are agreed in saying that a powerful factor in the political revolution of November 8 was the secret-ballot system. It had its first trial in a Presidential election in thirty-five States, including all those in which the most striking changes appeared—Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, New York, Indiana, Connecticut, and California. Of these seven States, New York and Connecticut have laws which are very defective applications of the Australian system, being filled with makeshift devices concocted by the enemies of a really secret ballot. The other five States have much better laws, which secure an absolutely secret ballot, free from the confusing annoyances caused by the separate ballots of the New York law and the envelope and other slipshod contrivances of the Connecticut law. But even the poorest of the laws gave a degree of secrecy to the voting which was sufficient to check, if it did not abolish completely, two practices which have heretofore had great influence in Presidential elections—bribery and intimidation.

In regard to the effect upon bribery, it is evident from complaints which have been heard since election that this will be more apparent in the future than it is at present. Open confession has been made in several States, including New York, Indiana, and Connecticut, by the men who offered the bribes, that the returns convince them that the men accepting the bribes did not keep their bargain when they got into the secret voting-booths. Capital is proverbially "sensitive," and it has always been timid about buying a pig in a poke. If the result this year has made it apparent that a bribed voter who marks his ballot in secret cannot be trusted to vote as he is bribed, investment of funds in that direction will be greatly diminished in the future. So high an authority as the most religious Republican editor in the world, Col. Elliott F. Shepard, has decreed that it is very wicked to buy votes which you are not certain will be delivered. Buying votes under the most favorable conditions has always been an expensive business, chiefly because so large a percentage of the money clings to the dirty fingers through which it must pass before it reaches the "floater" or other person whose vote it is to buy. If now, after he has been reached, he fails to keep his bargain, the business will soon be abandoned as utterly impracticable.

We are inclined to think that in the late election the failure of bribery had less influence on the result than the utter abolition of intimidation caused. On this point there is evidence from all quarters. An observer in Connecticut, in a recent letter to the *Evening Post*, gave some very interesting information about that State. He said that the canvasses taken in advance by the committees of both parties deceived both, chiefly because the employees in various kinds of manufactories gave false reports of their political inclinations. In one large shop the workmen assured the Republican pollman that every man of them would vote Republican, and they all marched in a Republican industrial parade on the Saturday before election, yet the returns show that at least three-fourths of them must have voted for Cleveland. Similar reports come from Illinois, Ohio, and Wisconsin. This is only one of the salutary effects of the secret system which were claimed for it in advance. Thousands of workmen in the protected industries of the country went to the polls for the first time this year as free men, able to cast their ballots as they wished to cast them, and not in obedience to the orders of their employers, whose agents stood at the polls to see that those orders were obeyed. Threats to deprive them of employment if they voted as their employers forbade were of no avail, for their employers could not discover how they voted.

Other voters who were made free by the new system were clerks who have hitherto feared their employers' disfavor in case of voting in opposition to them, and long-time party men who wished to break away from their associates, but dreaded the ridicule and obloquy which were certain to follow if they did so openly. The returns in Ohio, Illinois, and Wisconsin are eloquent evidence of the welcome shield which the new system afforded to thousands of weary Republicans in those States. They were the "silent voters" upon whom both parties placed so much hope, and whose defection gave the Republican party the shock from which it will not recover for many years, possibly not at all. As the workingmen of the land were relieved from the bondage of their employers by the secret ballot, so these men were delivered by it from the bondage of party.

These are great and beneficent triumphs for the new system, but there is another which in importance to the highest welfare of the republic easily surpasses them. By placing an additional and nearly insurmountable barrier to the effective use of money in elections, the new system goes a long way towards abolishing the raising of money in great sums for political purposes. We do not mean to say that entire abolition has been accomplished, and that no further legislation against it is necessary. On the contrary, we think corrupt-practices legislation of the most stringent character is the imperative need of the hour everywhere. But what the first trial of the new system in a Presidential election demonstrated was that great funds, such as the Republicans were known to have at their disposal, were powerless to save the

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party from defeat in any State in which the effort was made. This failure of the money to accomplish the object for which it was contributed will make it extremely difficult to collect a large fund in the future. No contributor to this year's Republican fund can say, as the protected manufacturer of Connecticut said a few months ago, when asked if he intended to contribute as liberally in 1892 as he had done in 1888: "Well, why shouldn't I? I got back under the McKinley Bill every penny that I put in four years ago." There will be no McKinley reservoir of this kind to draw from to replenish the void created by this year's contributions, and that fact of itself will discourage future giving.

We are firmly convinced that the greatest menace which hung over the country from the use of enormous sums of money in elections passed away when the protective system met its doom last week. No such abundant source of "boodle" will ever be found again. If the Republicans do not invest large sums in the elections, for the simple reason that they can buy nothing more in them, it will not be necessary for the Democrats to raise large funds to counteract them, and both parties will henceforth rely less upon bribery, direct and indirect, to carry the day. Then, too, the breaking down of the Republican party in its greatest strongholds so increases the number of doubtful States that no campaign fund could ever be raised which would be adequate for the purchase of enough votes to secure success. At the same time, we ought to enact laws which will make all use of money for corrupt purposes as impossible here as it is in England. We ought not to rest content with lessening the evil, but ought to destroy it root and branch.

AN INSTRUCTIVE COMPARISON.

A VERY instructive article from the pen of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain appeared in the November *Forum* on "Municipal Institutions in America and England," but, owing to the absorption of the public mind in the canvass, has received far less attention than it merits. It was devoted to a comparison of the municipal government of Boston—probably, on the whole, the best governed of our American cities—with that of Birmingham, England, this last being a municipality which owes to Mr. Chamberlain a large part of its excellent administration. In June, 1890, Mr. Julian Ralph gave an account of this administration in *Harper's Monthly*, under the heading, "The Best Governed City in the World," and we noticed the article at the time. Mr. Chamberlain himself describes Birmingham of to-day as follows, and certainly no one who knows the city will accuse him of exaggeration:

"The corporation came into existence in 1838 and has only gradually attained its present importance. During little over half a century the town has been transformed and ennobled. Formerly it was badly lighted, imperfectly guarded, and only partially drained; there were few public buildings and few important streets. The paving was defective; the cleansing and watering imperfectly performed; no provision at all existed for the recreation or the culture of the artisan classes. Birmingham, in fact, was an overgrown village with the population of a great town. But now great public edifices not unworthy of the importance of a midland metropolis have risen on every side. Wide arteries of communication have been opened up. Rookeries and squalid courts have given way to fine streets and open places. The roads are well paved, well kept, well lighted, and well cleansed. The whole sewerage of the town has been remodelled, and the health of the people is cared for by efficient sanitary inspectors. Baths and wash-houses are provided at a nominal cost to the users. Free libraries and museums of art are open to all the inhabitants; free schools and a school of art, together with facilities for technical instruction, are provided for their education. Recreation is not forgotten, and not less than ten parks and recreation-grounds are now maintained by the Corporation. New Assize Courts and Courts of Justice have been built. The police force and fire brigade are kept in the highest state of efficiency; while the great monopolies of gas and water have passed into the hands of the representatives of the whole community, who have also acquired the tramways and have thus retained full control over the roads of the city."

The population of the two cities is about the same, Boston 448,000, Birmingham 430,000. For the purposes of a comparison of the cost of municipal administration, Mr. Chamberlain assumes that they are also on an equality in the matter of efficiency. The table in which he shows, item by item, what each city pays for municipal purposes, is too long for quotation. The result is that the expenditure of Boston for strictly municipal purposes, leaving out schools, poor relief, and in Birmingham schools, lunatic asylums, and Poor Law, is more than six times as great as that of Birmingham. That is, Boston spends over $10,194,000 and Birmingham $1,665,000. Going to the last census for reports of the expenditure of other American cities, he finds that the expenditure of Birmingham is little more than one-fourth of the average of one hundred American cities, small and great together. Taking these figures as a basis, it appears that while the average resident in one of the American great cities pays from 15 to 30 per cent. of his income in municipal taxation, the resident in average English cities pays only from 2½ to 5 per cent.

What is the reason of this difference? The answer which will rise most readily to American lips is that in American municipalities the suffrage is so widely extended that the taxing power is in the hands of a body of persons who either do not pay taxes, or think they do not, which amounts to very much the same thing. Mr. Chamberlain meets this by showing that Boston is no worse off in this respect than Birmingham. In Birmingham all rate payers, both male and female, vote at municipal elections, and in 1891 the number of registered voters there was 88,186, and in Boston the year before, with only a male franchise, it was 73,000; so that the Birmingham government has really a wider popular basis. Nor is it true that Birmingham government enjoys exemption from the influence of politics any more than Boston. He says the local elections are generally conducted on party lines and the offices filled with party men. But the elected municipal officers, except the Mayor, hardly ever receive salaries, and no property qualification is required for a seat in the Municipal Council, which contains several workingmen. He then makes the following statement, which we believe to be literally true not only of Birmingham but of all or nearly all English cities similarly governed, but which will be read with amazement and incredulity by a great many good people in New York, so far away from healthy municipal life have we drifted:

"Although, as has been stated, political considerations exercise great weight in determining the composition of the Council, they ought never to be allowed—and as a matter of fact they very seldom are allowed—to have the slightest force in the election of the permanent officials or the day workmen employed by the Corporation. For nearly sixty years the great majority of the Town Council of Birmingham have been Liberals and Radicals, and yet during the greater part of that time the majority of the high officials have been members of the Conservative party. All the higher officials are appointed by the Council itself. The minor officials are appointed by the Councillors of the several departments and confirmed by the Council; and the day workmen, either by the Councillors or more generally by the permanent heads of the departments. When a new official has to be elected, no questions are asked as to his political opinions, and no interference would afterwards be tolerated with his exercise of electoral privileges. It is an unwritten law that no paid official shall take an active part in political contests. He is expected to refrain from the platform and the press in relation to such controversial matters, but his private opinions and his votes are matters exclusively for his own discretion. Once chosen, if he discharges his duties well and faithfully, he remains in office for life, or till his resignation; with the probability that if he is disqualified by age or infirmities, he will receive a pension proportioned to his salary and the length of his service. In Birmingham, the town clerk receives a salary which, with allowances, amounts to £2,200 per annum, the city surveyor £1,400, the city treasurer £1,050, the chief of police £920, the medical officer of health £1,000, the engineers of the Gas Department have £1,200 and £1,050 respectively, the chief engineer of the Water Department £1,200, and the secretaries of the Gas and Water Departments £1,250 and £750 respectively. These gentlemen, with all the other permanent officials, are expected to give their whole working time to the corporation and not to engage in any other occupation. Some of them have been more than thirty years in its service. They have grown with its growth and remained at their posts while the composition of the Council has

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changed many times, always enjoying the full confidence of their successive employers."

Were a reformer to suggest the adoption of such a system in New York, he would excite nearly as much merriment as if he were to suggest in a Sioux village the wearing of evening dress at supper in the tepees. He would be set apart as a dreamer or visionary, who ought to be treated kindly on account of the purity of his motives, but strictly forbidden to exercise any influence in municipal affairs, were he, like Mr. Chamberlain, to keep on saying, that

"the idea that paid municipal office should be the sport of successful politicians is utterly abhorrent. The personal honor, the trustworthiness, and the fidelity to their engagements of the permanent official service—whether in the departments of State or in the municipal administrations of the country—are a national possession, and a source of pride and satisfaction to all who are interested in the welfare of our institutions. To substitute for such a class—so distinguished, so faithful, and so absolutely honest and incorruptible—*a number of casual occupants of posts for which they have no sufficient qualification—political cadgers and hangers-on, with no real love for their work—with no ambition to distinguish themselves in it and only anxious to fill their pockets in the shortest possible time before they give place to a new swarm of the same breed*—would be a disastrous revolution, and would, in the opinion of every public man in this country, be the certain precursor of inefficiency, corruption, and extravagance in our national and local administration."

Mr. Chamberlain adds:

"If ever the principles of action should change—if the best men should be so occupied with their own fortunes that they should leave the care of the commonwealth to those who will see in this duty only an opportunity for plunder—if office is sought, not for the good which can be done, but for the political patronage it may afford—if paid officials lose their pride in their work and their loyalty to the public that employs them—if incapacity is overlooked and corruption is condoned—then, if these things happen, the dignity, the efficiency, and the economy of our public service will all disappear, and the institution of local government, so long our pride and our glory, will be discredited in the eyes of the people and will become a by-word and a reproach."

Now, this is exactly what has happened to us here. The institution of local government is a "by-word and a reproach" among us, but we do not seem to mind it a bit. Any foreigner who heard the current talk about our municipality in New York to-day might safely conclude that this was the kind of local government we liked, and that, like McKinley, whose greatness lies in being hated by the human race, we were never so municipally happy as when our municipal arrangements brought on us the scorn or pity of the civilized world.

MR. GLADSTONE'S OXFORD LECTURE.

OXFORD, October 29, 1892.

FOR the first time in ten years, the Oxford undergraduate has been allowed to monopolize the gallery of the Sheldonian Theatre without the taming interjection of "lady-proctors." The occasion was a memorable one for many reasons, quite apart from the seemly bearing of such undergraduates as were lucky enough to survive in the scramble for seats. Crowds began to obstruct the streets near the theatre as early as eleven o'clock on Monday last; Mr. Gladstone began his lecture on "Mediæval Universities" at half-past two. His magnificent voice cast its wonder-working spell upon his hearers from the very beginning, and, although the academic manner of his delivery kept his eye for the greater part of the time closely fixed upon his MS., the compelling power of his personality dominated the assembled University, even when a well-considered allusion to Lord Salisbury brought down the house. Before he began speaking, and when the lecture closed at the end of an hour and a half, there was unbounded enthusiasm and limitless applause, but the thrill of these moments was not so great as to prevent his auditors from perceiving upon him certain marks of flagging vigor which they forgot while listening to the "old man eloquent." In fact, at the moment when, dispensing with the tiresome formality of a vote of thanks, the Premier turned slowly and issued forth alone through the large doors thrown open directly behind him, it was difficult to remember that the Vice-Chancellor would shortly join him, for there was a sudden lull which hushed all plaudits while the picture of his departure seemed to prefigure what, in the course of nature, may happen to us with him any day.

That part of the lecture which dealt specifically with mediæval universities was unavoidably somewhat bare of the speaker's characteristic eloquence, for the very reason that he had been conscientious in his study of the technical points involved. This careful preparation was shown in his account of the meaning of "studium generale" and "universitas": the former "did not so much signify the extension of the studies pursued as the central and not merely local character of the establishment"; the latter "meant not a high teaching institute, but a union of persons for given purposes regularly organized—that is to say, a guild or corporation." When applied to what we now call a university, the proper sense of "universitas" was "the combination into one regulated body of the teachers and the scholars." Only a word or two was given to various Italian universities, to Charlemagne, and to Alfred. The beginnings of Oxford were definitively fixed not earlier than the twelfth century, a period when Paris easily held the "prior principalitas," which did not pass over to Oxford until the fourteenth century, although, as early as 1252, Oxford began to hold its own. In claiming for Oxford Alexander of Hales, the "Doctor irrefragabilis," Mr. Gladstone is believed by competent persons to have erred; but he certainly made rather too little than too much of the general superiority of his own University over that of Paris during the fourteenth century. No one will quarrel, however, with this understatement, for the lecturer was most acute and most lucid in pointing out the cause of Oxford's greatness at this period—the decisive and exceptional influence of that order whose founder, St. Francis, had done everything to hold himself and his followers aloof from academic life. Mr. Gladstone might have pointed out that Devorguilla, when in 1282 she organized Balliol College, made of it practically a Franciscan institution, and he might have quoted Father Ehrle to the effect that in the fourteenth century Oxford became the centre of resistance on the part of minorites and seculars to the Dominican attempt, disastrously triumphant elsewhere, to displace the Augustinized Plato of the fathers of the Church by putting in his stead the Christianized Aristotle of St. Thomas Aquinas. With the year 1400 closed this "golden age of Oxford," said the lecturer, "and there is no subsequent time at which we can consistently with historic fidelity claim on her behalf a position so commanding."

During the fifteenth century there was a falling off in material resources due to the greed of monasteries and the havocs of civil wars, and a hampering of the free traditions left by Ockham and his predecessors, which was due to stringent measures against Lollardism. Still, Erasmus was enthusiastic in praise of Oxford and Cambridge as he found them in 1500, and Oxford was then still superior to Cambridge, having to boast of Selling, Linacre, Colet, and Sir Thomas More. But in this and many other respects the sixteenth century marked an entire change. It was not an academic age, but such academic activity as its fierce polemics allowed was in Cambridge and not in Oxford. The Reformation belonged to Cambridge, "where it had its real commencement." At this point a characteristically phrased allusion was made to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer: "The three famous prelates who have been monumentally commemorated in Oxford for reasons other than academic, were Cambridge men." These words had, as they probably were intended to have, the effect of an anti-climax upon the audience, who expected either some moving allusion to the martyred bishops, or an utterance touching the recent refusal of a monument to Cardinal Newman in Oxford.

In the sixteenth century "the deepest and most vital influences within the two universities respectively were addressed at Oxford to the making of recusants, and at Cambridge to the production of Zwinglians and Calvinists." Oxford was on the losing side, and hence the Elizabethan bishops were for the most part Cambridge men. Many theologians were summoned from abroad, as if to give tangible proof of academical incompetency at home. The lecturer then sketched the quieter days of the seventeenth century, "the best which the universities had known since the time of Erasmus." Oxford founded the Royal Society, and Cambridge had its renowned school of Platonists, Whichcote, Cudworth, John Smith, and Henry More. The Anglican divines of this century were "probably to a man reared within the universities," but the larger and weightier work was done by Cambridge men. Taking the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries together, Cambridge confronts her ancient rival with Bacon, Milton, and Newton, "names before which we can only bow." Milton's name suggested that until the close of the last century, Oxford had made hardly an appreciable contribution "to the noble list of English poets." The paramount influence of an Oxford philosopher, John Locke, from the speaker's own college, was next dwelt upon, and then, passing to politics, Mr. Gladstone gave a new lease of life to those wonderfully vivacious squibs provoked by George I., when he simultaneously despatched a troop of horse to Oxford and a present of books to Cambridge. Mr. Gladstone was persuaded, but not too easily, to remind his hearers of Dr. Trapp's Oxonian version of this episode:

"The ing, regarding with impartial eyes
The want of both his universities,
To Oxford sent a troop of horse—and why

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That learned body wanted loyalty:
To Cambridge books he sent, as well discerning
How much that royal body wanted learning."

With still more effective hesitation, the lecturer then gave Sir William Browne's rejoinder for Cambridge:

"The King to Oxford sent a troop of horse,
For Tories own no argument but force;
With equal sense to Cambridge books he sent,
For Whigs admit no force but argument."

And then he added: "I think Oxford is excellent, but Cambridge, I confess, appears to me better still."

This stage situation was a marvellous example of skill in dealing with an audience. Neither of these epigrams was written down with the learned lecture, and there was a moment's hesitation as if the lecturer might not recall the lines. When they came, they were delivered off-hand, but in such a way that every intonation was well considered, and each turn of the head and hand was intentional. No more finished piece of by-play could be witnessed at the Comédie-Française.

The last third of the lecture was beyond the limits of the subject, but by no means less interesting on that account. Mr. Gladstone uttered his personal convictions in a remarkable eulogy of Bishop Butler as one of the "inheritors of unfulfilled renown," and then, passing to the consideration of the influence of the two universities upon the training of men of action, he spoke of Becket, Langton, Wolsey, and Laud as the five greatest ecclesiastics since the Norman conquest, and to these names he added Wycliffe and Newman. The first two of these came before Oxford was, though Becket was at the original Merton College; the other five were trained at Oxford. He described Laud as standing "upon the historic stage half-way between culprit and martyr," and said of Wycliffe that it was his singular destiny to produce in Bohemia results far wider and far more potent than in his own country. Newman's was a name that might still touch living memories; it was Newman who, "principally and in half a lifetime, set a mark upon the mind and inner spirit of the English Church which it is likely to carry through many generations." Returning to Laud, he made a wonderfully telling plea in extenuation against Macaulay's hard words. Macaulay praises Strafford, and yet Laud and Strafford "were the Pylades and Orestes of civil life, and it might be hard to show any single point of action or opinion on which they differed." Laud, first among English primates, was a tolerant theologian. He was powerful enough to make the Calvinistic Oxford which he found, an Anglican Oxford when he left. So Augustus found Rome brick and left it marble, "or, if the inverted form be preferred, Laud found Oxford marble and left it brick." The audience evidently regarded this last turn in the Premier's argument as a concession to his friend the "Nonconformist conscience," and accordingly greeted it with an hilarity which was not wholly displeasing to the speaker. His conclusion as to men of action was guardedly expressed, but to the effect that Oxford men shone superior to Cambridge men in action. Having multiplied instances to support this view in affairs ecclesiastical, he now addressed his remarks to political life. Every Chancellor of Oxford, from Lord North to Lord Salisbury, had been Premier, and this among many other facts justified, he thought, a belief in "some specially strong tendency of Oxford towards the exigencies of public life."

In closing, Mr. Gladstone adverted to various welcome innovations at the universities, each of which had, however, maintained its distinctive character. He protested against that theory of education, happily without foothold at Oxford or Cambridge, "which would have it to construct machines of so many horse-power, rather than to form characters to rear into true excellence that marvellous creature we call man—which gloats upon success in life instead of studying to secure that the man shall always be greater than his work, and never bounded by it, but that his eye shall boldly run, in the words of Wordsworth,

"'Along the line of limitless desires.'"

The thought behind these words is strikingly similar to that of our own Lowell at Harvard in 1886: "A university is a place where nothing useful is taught," and its highest office is "to distribute the true bread of life—the *pane degli angeli*, as Dante called it."

At the end Mr. Gladstone solemnly, though in rather cumbrous phrases, dwelt upon the beauties of theology and the loveliness of the Oxford University motto: "Dominus illuminatio mea." So ended the first Romanes lecture, given by that marvellous creature we call the right honorable gentleman, Mr. Gladstone, thrice Premier of England.

LOUIS DYER.

ON THE MORROW OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

PARIS, October 27, 1892.

THE names of La Mole and Coconas have been made very popular in France by an historical novel of Alexandre Dumas—'La Reine Margot,' one of the most amusing novels to be found. If Alexandre Dumas, senior, had worked harder, he might perhaps have written as good novels as Walter Scott. With all his levity, he still remains the only novelist of his generation whose novels have not been utterly forgotten.

I was struck some time ago by the title of a book, or rather the sub-title: "La Molle et Coconat." Why Coconat? Dumas wrote Coconas. It was evidently the same man, as over the sub-title I read: 'Le Parti des Politiques au lendemain de la Saint-Barthélemy,' and I knew that Coconas was one of the most active massacrers in that fatal night of Saint Bartholomew. The name of the author had suffered a change as well as the name of Coconas. M. Decrue wrote the life of Anne of Montmorency, Constable of France, a work in two octavo volumes which appeared in 1885. In 1892 he comes before us as M. De Crue. Though we are tolerably accustomed in France to these transformations of name, I confess that I felt a little surprised. M. De Crue belongs to the new historical school and is extremely particular about dates and names. He has corrected the name of La Mole, and changed it into La Molle; he has taken care to change the Coconas of Dumas into Coconat. He might have written Coconata, as this hero of Saint Bartholomew was a Piedmontese gentleman, who signed himself Coconata.

How was M. De Crue led to write the history of these two men, La Molle and Coconat, who inspired the celebrated author of 'La Reine Margot'? He found them among the followers of the Montmorencys, and he has called his theme 'Le Parti des Politiques,' inasmuch as the Montmorencys were at the head of the party of the "Politiques," who took a sort of middle position between the Catholics and the Protestants. The name "Politics" entered into current speech towards 1564; it was applied to those who worked for the peace of the country on the basis of the Edict of January, 1562, which gave the Huguenots, under some conditions, liberty of conscience and of worship. The three first civil wars were caused by the violation of this Edict of Tolerance. The massacre of the reformed Assembly of Vassy was the origin of the first. Condé and Coligny took arms and fought the battle of Dreux against François de Guise. After the death of Guise, before Orléans, the Constable of Montmorency dictated the articles of peace. Montmorency was the real head of the party of the "Politics"; after him, the chief of this faction became François d'Alençon, the favorite son of Marguerite de Médicis. In his memoirs, the Vicomte de Turenne describes the Duc d'Alençon as a man with a fine face spoiled by the smallpox, "haïssant le mal et les mauvais, aimant la cause de la Religion (réformée)." Turenne had been educated with him and knew him intimately. D'Alençon was the godchild of the Constable of Montmorency, and he expressed his ideas. He was ambitious. He took for his confidant La Molle, whom L'Estoile calls "le baladin de la cour." La Molle was dissolute, pious, very superstitious; he heard several masses every day. He was vain and had many enemies. He gave himself entirely, in the language of the day, to the Duc d'Alençon.

The children of Marguerite de Médicis all wanted to wear crowns. Henri d'Anjou was elected King of Poland; his brother Alençon wished to have a sovereignty in the Low Countries, and intrigued with the enemies of Spain. Charles IX. detested his brother Alençon, and twice gave the order to strangle La Molle. It is said that one day at the Louvre, with the Duc de Guise and some gentlemen who had ropes, he waited himself for La Molle, in a passage of the palace. La Molle was saved only because he entered the room of his mistress instead of Alençon's.

Montmorency, the eldest son of the Constable, retired to Chantilly in 1574. The whole kingdom was in a state of effervescence. The Duc d'Alençon was among the malcontents. La Molle, who was a great intriguer and a born conspirator, was wanting in personal courage; he found an associate and an instrument in a daring soldier, the Piedmontese Annibal Coconata. Coconata was born in 1534; he was a soldier of fortune, who had fought against the Turks and then taken service in France. He was an unbeliever, and did not care for Catholics or Protestants. On the night of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew he took part in the murder of Coligny. Charles IX. said of him: "Coconat was a valiant gentleman, but he was wicked; he was one of the wickedest men living in my kingdom. I remember having heard him say, among other things, when he vaunted his part in the Saint Bartholomew, that he had bought from the hands of the people thirty Huguenots, in order to have the satisfaction of killing them after his own pleasure, which was to make them first renounce their religion with a promise to save their lives. This being done, he killed them with his poniard, cruelly, with several cuts." This can be read in the 'Memoirs of L'Estoile,' who adds that Charles IX. used to say that, though he had ordered the massacre, he had never liked Coconat since, and had found him worthy of the end which he met.

La Molle was worthy of his companion; they were both secret agents of Spain. The Duc d'Alençon employed them in his intrigues. The malcontents placed him at their

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head. Alençon was to fly from Paris with the King of Navarre, Turenne, and Coconat; at Villers-Cotterets he was to meet some other gentleman; an emissary of the Duc de Bouillon was to conduct the little troop to Sedan. Once at Sedan, Alençon was master of the situation; he could count on Ludwig of Nassau and his army, on Charles of Mansfeld; England, Germany, the Netherlands would give him money and soldiers. Alençon, at the head of an army, would give his help to the French Huguenots. Such was La Molle's plan. Turenne, however, who despised him, refused to work with him. A last meeting took place at the house of a man called La Nocle La Fin, or more commonly La Fin. Alençon presided; besides him, there were present La Fin, La Molle, Coconat, and five others. The departure for Sedan was decided on.

The conspirators did not suspect that the Queen mother was advised day by day of all their doings. Alençon was shadowed by the Italian Cosimo Ruggieri, an astrologer and a necromancer who had given lessons in Italian to François d'Alençon and lived on intimate terms with him. The Queen had other spies. The Duke of Montmorency himself, whom Alençon had tried to bring over to his cause, went to see the Queen and gave her a letter which his guards had found in the hands of a valet. In this letter one of the conspirators asked his wife to send him horses to Saint-Maur for the expedition to Sedan. The Queen lost no time; she prepared her dispositions, doubled the guard of the Louvre, had the doors shut, kept Alençon and Henry of Navarre prisoners. Seizures began. La Molle was arrested as well as Coconat, whom a great lady had concealed in an Augustine convent. Thus ended a movement which was headed at first by the "Politiques," but in reality was not countenanced by Montmorency, the chief of the party, and could therefore not succeed, though two princes of the blood were at the head of it.

The trial was conducted by De Thou, who was an enemy of the Politiques. La Molle was considered the chief of the conspiracy; Coconat as only one of his instruments. La Molle was the lover of Marguerite of Navarre; Coconat counted among his many mistresses the Duchess of Nevers and the Maréchale de Retz. It may therefore be imagined how eagerly all the details of the trial were followed not only in Paris, but in foreign courts. Alençon and Navarre were not prosecuted. The former was obliged to perform some royal functions in the place of his brother. Navarre was allowed to take walks in the park. Both of them were really prisoners and surrounded with guards.

After the fashion of the time, La Molle was subjected to torture. He kept silent for a long time, and finally denounced as his accomplices Turenne, Coconat, Bouillon, Condé, La Nocle, and a few others. He did not breathe the name of Alençon. Coconat was not so reticent; he spoke of Alençon and of Montmorency. He exclaimed, after the torture: "You see, gentlemen, the little ones are punished, and the great ones, who committed the fault, remain unpunished. You ought to attack Montmorency, Bouillon, and Turenne." In vain did Alençon and the Queen of Navarre implore the pardon of La Molle; all they could obtain was that he should not have a public execution. It was too late; the bearer of the Queen's despatch, on arriving at Paris, found the gates shut. De Thou hastened the execution; La Molle and his accomplice were carried from the Conciergerie to the Place de Grève and beheaded. A poet of the time composed this epigram for La Molle:

"Mollis vita fuit, mollior interitus."

Pasquier wrote a poem in Latin on his death, beginning:

"Vos ego, Veneres Cupidinesque,
Vos ego, Charites venustiores," etc.

Little did La Molle deserve to be celebrated in verse, in the style of Catullus. The Queen of Navarre and the Duchess of Nevers, if we believe Brantôme, made great professions of despair. It seems certain that they disinterred secretly the bodies, and had them interred in the Chapel of Saint-Martin at Montmartre. It was said, also, that they kept the heads of their lovers embalmed. Such details show us in the court of the last of the Valois a singular mixture of devotion and of gallantry. The sons of Catherine were perverted almost to madness, and the Court had, as usual, taken the manners of the King and of the Princes.

Correspondence.

NEW NATIONAL BANKNOTE GUARANTEES.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The current discussion in regard to the future of our national banknote system promises to be fruitful of good results provided it can be conducted as a scientific and practical financial question and kept clear of party politics. One very encouraging feature is that the more sober writers are discarding what used to be the almost universal assumption that it was out of the question that any other security than U.S. Government bonds could form the basis of a national currency. I am glad to see that, in your article on the subject in to-day's *Nation*, you not only say that the national system is the best we have ever had and probably the best we ever can have, but also intimate that some other security may be found to take the place of the bonds, and that if thus the system could be continued, it would be better than any State system. In this you are in accord with the plan suggested by Congressman Harter two months ago, when he proposed that certain classes of bonds should be accepted as security, and went into some detail as to the restrictions and safeguards which should surround them. I think his plan, as then elaborated, can be supplemented by one additional provision which, if adopted, would make the national system perpetual and elastic, and would render the repeal of the 10 per cent. tax unnecessary.

On several memorable occasions the Clearing-House Association of this city has prevented or mitigated monetary panics by stepping in to assist banks which were amply solvent, but which would have been pushed to the wall if required to liquidate their liabilities on demand; similar action was taken by the leading London bankers to save the house of Baring from bankruptcy. These precedents show that in the world of finance, as elsewhere, in union there is strength. The same sound principles which were acted upon exceptionally in the instances referred to would, if erected into a permanent system, provide a stable banknote currency. What I would propose n order to carry out this idea is as follows. Let the Comptroller of the Currency issue national banknotes against proper securities, not to individual banks, but to the associations of national banks in the various States, cities, or counties, as the case may be. For instance, in the city of New York, the Clearing-House Association would be the medium of communication between the banks composing it and the Department at Washington; the association would receive the banknotes and distribute them among its members, in proportion to the securities that each of them had deposited for transmission to Washington; the association would be responsible to the holder of the note; that is, if any one bank failed to redeem its notes on demand, the holder could demand payment of any other bank belonging to the same association, and the bank so redeeming these notes could, on surrendering them to the Department (through the association), receive the securities deposited by the issuing bank and thus save itself from loss. In this way it would be the interest of the association to see to it that only unexceptionable securities were sent to Washington, and that each individual bank maintained a proper reserve. A currency secured and protected in this way would enjoy so great a measure of public confidence that a panic among note-holders would be among the remotest of contingencies.

Perhaps some one will object that the larger and more conservative banks will not be willing to stand as sponsors for their weaker brethren. Bankers, however, are our most enlightened and broad-minded business men, and will readily understand how much it is to their interest to have a sound and controllable currency, and one which will pass at par in all parts of the country.

I beg leave to dissent from your view (expressed in your article of October 6) that State notes would not get into circulation if they were not fully as good as national banknotes. I do not think that anybody who has a practical knowledge of the keen competition among merchants and bankers will agree with you. New York merchants nominally sell their goods for New York funds; nevertheless, the very largest and richest firms accept from their far Western and Southern customers checks on their local banks on which the actual loss in collection is from one-eighth to one-half per cent. It is true that in most cases they do not suffer the loss themselves, but pass it on to their banks, who receive such checks on deposit at par. They do it for fear of losing business. The same thing would occur with banknotes. If a large customer in Alabama or Nebraska sent a batch of depreciated banknotes to a dry-goods jobber in New York, the latter would not have the backbone to refuse them, and would deposit them at par in his bank, which in its turn would have no more backbone than he had, because it knows that a dozen other banks would be only too glad to take the account on the same terms. Before the war, when all kinds of banknotes were at all kinds of discount, the Metropolitan Bank built up a very large business in a very short time by announcing that it would receive country notes on deposit at par. Competition among banks at that time was not as strenuous as it is to-day. It was then unheard of that a bank president, or even a bank director, should go about among the merchants of his acquaintance "soliciting" accounts; it has become a common practice now. There is one bank on Broadway which last year appointed a so-called "Vice-President," whose whole business it is to go up and down the streets "drumming for trade," like any itinerant vender.

Under such conditions, which all banks understand very well, it is to the manifest interest of all conservative banks to avert a re-

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turn to the State-bank system. It would benefit nobody who has anything to lose, and I am at a loss to know why anybody should advocate it as long as there is any way to maintain our present system on a safe basis. As for the opinion of Senator Sherman, quoted by you, "that the popular will has been expressed adversely to the continuance of the national system beyond the existence of the national bonds," one is tempted to say that the Senator, like Capt. Jack Bunsby, is "a man of mind and a man as can give an opinion," but that is all there is of it. I have never met with any such expression of "the popular will." Have you? A. T.

NEW YORK, November 10, 1892.

THE NILE CORVÉE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In his recent book, 'Egypt To-day,' Mr. Frazer Rae states that, "in December, 1889, the *corvée* was totally abolished in Egypt, for the first time, probably, in all the thousands of years of Egyptian history" (page 177). Mr. Frazer Rae refers to me in such kind terms that I have every interest in maintaining his accuracy. He took infinite pains to arrive at the truth, and if he did not always attain the goal, the obstacles were such as would deceive, if it were possible, the very elect.

No more exact date is given on which the Egyptian serf emerged from the long bondage into the liberty enjoyed by every peasant of Europe. No "Emancipation Proclamation," no "Decree of the Council of Ministers," no "Statute of the Legislative Council" is cited. Mr. Frazer Rae gives as his authority the N. Y. *Nation*, April 21, 1892, p. 299. In a letter from Mr. Woodruff, of whose painstaking efforts to estimate at its fair value the influence of the English occupation of Egypt I was personally cognizant, it is said that the English set about to abolish the *corvée* as a part of their task. The Dual Control of Egypt had long exercised a power which rendered the abuse of the *corvée* impossible without the knowledge, and therefore acquiescence, of Major Baring. In 1882 the entire control passed into the hands of England. In 1884, M. Rousseau having been dismissed, Sir C. C. Scott-Moncrieff was made Under-Secretary of State for Public Works. He held office until July, 1892. In the (London) *World*, October 19, 1892, Sir C. C. Scott-Moncrieff informs its representative that he had instituted many humane and useful reforms.

"For instance, he abolished the *corvée*, a system of State unpaid, forced labor, which pressed most grievously upon the people, and constituted one of their great grievances. The *corvée* was employed to repair the banks of the canals, to clear the canals of silt deposit and to assist in the works of irrigation; but, as the only remuneration received was meted out in blows and stripes, the effect of this employment may be easily imagined."

This is a correct account of the *corvée;* but when was it abolished, in law or in fact? The Law of January 25, 1881, was modified by Arabi Pasha, on March 12, 1882, in favor of the Bedouins. A ministerial order was issued on March 1, 1887, signed by Sir C. C. Scott-Moncrieff, allowing "the tenants of the Pashas" the privilege of redeeming themselves. On January 29, 1888, a decree of the Council of Ministers extended this right of redemption, at forty piastres ($2.00) per man, to the peasants of *certain* provinces. In 1889 the *corvée* was in force in eight provinces, for the clearance of silt, and winter work. "The works were most thoroughly kept in order by the money of the *corvée* ransom, the *corvée* relief, and the *corvée* themselves." (Report, p. 60, §112, Cairo, 1890.) In 1891—nine years after the British occupation—her Majesty's Government published a Report by Sir E. Baring, in which he says, "The *corvée* has been wholly abolished." (Egypt, No. 3, March 29, 1891, p. 38.) Sir C. C. Scott-Moncrieff had made the same statement in *Nature*, and Sir E. Baring adopts it with the context almost without verbal change.

Thus Mr. Woodruff and Mr. Frazer Rae might appeal to authorities of the highest repute to sustain them in their position. Nevertheless, it is untenable. The *corvée* has never been abolished. It was called out within a month after Sir E. Baring had said that it had ceased to exist, in April, 1891, to fight the locusts, under the direction of Mr. Wallace of the College of Agriculture. It is in full operation at the present moment. On October 5, 1892, the *Journal Officiel* published (in English) that "Major Brown, Inspector-General of Irrigation for Upper Egypt, is still much dissatisfied with the work of the Kenah *corvée*." On October 8, "Major Brown specially praises the Mudir [Governor] of Beni-Suef, Mustapha Wahbi, for the very excellent arrangements he has made and the way in which the *corvée* has been worked."

Nor are the numbers of these forced, unfed, and unpaid laborers insignificant. In Gharbieh, three thousand peasants were requisitioned from other districts to work in the district of Chirbin. The Governor of Menufieh moves about his province, accompanied by a gang of 500 workmen. In Minieh, seventeen thousand five hundred and thirteen *corvéables* were reported as under orders on October 10. In Behera, 1,350 laborers were employed at a single point. In Menufieh, 1,200 men were at work on one bank. These facts are taken from the official organ of the Egyptian Government, pp. 1208 and 1209.

Fine and imprisonment are the legal penalties for disobedience. The law provides, however, for its own suspension, and remits the case to a Commission, formed, like the Lynch tribunals, out of a group of the neighbors, without a magistrate, who must decide, on the demand of the engineer, within twenty-four hours. There is a picturesque account, too long to quote, of a peasant, Abd el-Aty el-Sarry, who appealed to the Khedive in person in behalf of his father. "The old man" had been beaten, in spite of his obedience to the summons. The village-chief admitted that he had inflicted blows. He was "invited" not to repeat this form of compulsion on the bodies of those under his orders (*Journal Officiel*, September 29, 1892, p. 1203).

There is an ancient tale in which the little boy alleged that he was provided with a large number of first cousins, although his father had never had brother or sister and his mother had been an only child. The sole explanation necessarily imputed to the lad a disregard of truth. I recommend the moral to those who, like myself, can find no other explanation of the contradictions I have cited.

COPE WHITEHOUSE.

LONDON, October 24, 1892.

THE WASHINGTON GENEALOGY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have just found a piece of evidence that is interesting, and will, I think, prove of high value in determining this vexed question of the Washington family. In October, 1891, I sent you a letter from John Washington, in which he made mention of "Aunt Howard, who died about a year and a half ago" (*i. e.*, 1697 or 1698). In February, 1892, I sent an extract from a letter of George Washington, in which he said: "Mrs. Hayward must have been a daughter of the *first Lawrence*, and thence becomes a cousin of the second Lawrence and John." I hazarded the conjecture that Aunt Howard and Mrs. Hayward were one and the same person, and that she probably belonged to a generation previous to that assigned her by Washington. An attested copy of the will of Mrs. Martha Hayward was accidentally discovered by me last week in the Washington MSS. in the Department of State, and is as follows:

In the name of God Amen I Martha Hayward of the County of Stafford being sick and weak of body but of perfect sence and memory, thanks be given to God therefor Doe make and ordaine this my last Will & Testament

Impr^{s} I give and bequeath my Soul to God and my body to the Earth to be buryed in Christianlike and Decent manner att the disposition of my Exec^{rs} hereafter named and as for what worldly Estate it hath pleased God to bless me wth all I give devise and dispose of in the following manner & forme

Item I give and bequeath unto my two cousins John and Augustine the sons of my coz^{n} Lawrence Washington of Westmoreland County one negroe woman named Anne and her future increase and in case of their deaths before they come of age then I give the s^{d} negroe to the af.res^{d} Lawrence Washington & his heirs forever.

Item I give unto my cozen Lawrence Washington son of M^{r} John Washington of Westmoreland County one mallatto girle named Suka to him and his heirs forever.

Item I give and bequeath unto my cozen John Washington son of the said John Washington of Westmoreland county one mallatto Girle named Kate to him and his heirs forever.

Item I give and bequeath my cozen Nathaniel Washington, son of the said John Washington one Negroe boy named John to him & his heirs forever.

Item I give and bequeath unto my Coz^{n} Hen: Washington son of the said John Washington one negroe boy named George William to him & his heirs for ever.

Item I give and bequeath unto my kinsman M^{r} John Washington of Stafford County one negroe woman named Petty and her future Increase to him & his heirs forever.

Item I give and bequeath unto my kinsman M^{r} R^{d}ch^{d} Ffoot two thousands pn^{ds} Tobbacco to him & his heirs for ever.

Item it is my will & desire that my Ex^{trs} wth all convn^{t} speed after my decease doe procure and purchase for each of my two sisters in Law viz^{t} Mary King and Sarah Todd a servant man or woman as they or either [of] them shall both like haveing att least four or five years to serve w^{ch} I doe give to them and their heirs forever.

Item I give and bequeath to my afores^{d} cozins the sons of my two coz^{ns} Lawrence and John Washington of Westmoreland County to Each of them a feather bedd and furniture to them and their heirs forever.

Item it is my will and desire that my Exec^{trs} with all Convn^{t} speed send to England to my Eldest sister M^{rs} Elizabeth Rumbold a Tunne of good weight of Tobacco, & the same I give to her and her heirs forever.

Item it is my desire that my said Executors Doe likewise take freight send for England to my other sister M^{rs} Marg^{t} Galbut [Talbut?] a Tonne of good weight of Tobbacco which I give to her and her and her [*sic*] heirs forever.

Item I give and bequeath unto M^{r} W^{m} Pruckner [?] of the County of York my gold signett.

Item I give and bequeath unto Cap^{t} Law: Washington and his wife, M^{r} John Washington of Stafford County and his wife, M^{r} John Washington of Westmoreland County and his wife, Mary King, Sarah Todd and Mary Wheatley, each of them a gold of twenty shillings piece To be procured with all Convn^{t} speed after my decease.

Item I give and bequeath unto Samuel Todd son of Wm. Todd a heiffer about three years old

Lastly after all my just Debts are p^{d} all the

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rest of my Estate whatsoever and wheresoever I doe give and bequeath unto Cap[t] Lawrence Washington, M[r] John Washington of Westmoreland County, & M[r] John Washington of Stafford County to be Equali[y] Divided between them and I doe hereby [ ] Constitute and ordaine the afores[d] Lawrence Washington & John Washington of Westmoreland County Execut[s] of this my last will & Testament. In Witnesse whereof I have hereunto sett my hand & fixed my Seale this 6th day of May annoq[e] Domi 1697.

MARTHA HAYWARD.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of us: Geo. Weedon, Sarah Kelly, Sarah ⋈ Powell, her marke, John Pike.

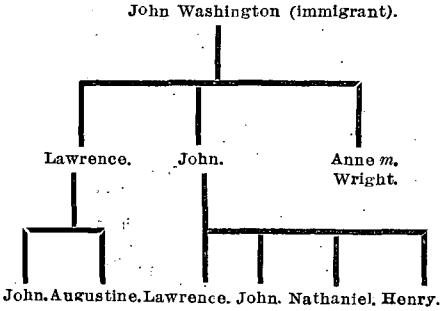
Proved and Recorded the 8th of December, 1697.

Vera copia Teste.
J. Perry
D. C. Cur. Com. Stafford.

From this will we establish the fact that Martha (the sister of the emigrants John and Lawrence), for whose journey to this country provision was made by John in his will, did cross the ocean and become Mrs. Hayward. The date of the will and the sentence in John's letter mentioning the death of Aunt Howard point to the same person. She moved to Stafford County, and was probably the wife of the Nicholas Hayward who obtained a grant of land there in 1689. The terms of her will would indicate that no children were given to her. The two sisters-in-law, Mary King and Sarah Todd, were probably of the Hayward connection.

We also learn of an entirely new family on the Westmoreland side—that of John of Westmoreland. The immigrant John had two sons, Lawrence and John. From Lawrence was descended the President, but of the second son nothing has been known except a rough note on the Heard table—"from whom are descended Henry of Chotank and John of Machotock." Mrs. Hayward's will gives the names of four sons of this John: Lawrence, John, Nathaniel, and Henry. We are justified in concluding that some of these sons, receiving Stafford property under this will, removed to Stafford. What is more probable than that the will of Henry Washington of Stafford County, executed in 1747, was the will of this son of John? Mr. Horace Edwin Hayden, who first printed the will, was led to believe that this Henry belonged to the line of the emigrant Lawrence, but I think Mrs. Hayward's bequests determine where Henry belongs.

So much for the light thrown upon the American family, which may be made clearer by the following table:



The will also gives us two facts hitherto unknown: the married names of the two sisters of John and Lawrence (emigrants) who remained in England. Elizabeth, who was baptized at Tring in 1636, became Mrs. Rumbold, and her sister Margaret married a Galbut or Talbut; and they were both supposed to be living when the will was made. Mr. Waters gives us additional evidence. Margaret Talbott was a witness to the will of Samuel Thornton (1666), who married an aunt of the emigrants, and so it is probable that Talbot is the married name of this sister. A sister of Mrs. Thornton, Elizabeth (Washington) Mewce, in her will (1676), left a legacy to her niece, Mrs. Elizabeth Rumball. With these additional clues to work upon, Mr. Waters ought to be able to report something of interest from the other side.

From curiosity, I should like to know if the use of the word "cozen" to denote a nephew was common at that day.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

BROOKLYN, November 8, 1892.

THE STEEL-WIRE-BINDING NUISANCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: An English paper, speaking of our American periodicals the other day, said that one had to use a sardine can-opener before one could read them. Would that any form of can-opener known to me could suffice! I usually have five minutes' work with a knife-blade (which almost always gets notched in the process) and two pairs of pliers, one for cutting and one for pulling, before I can read any of our more serious reviews, like the *Forum*, the *Arena*, or the *Journal of Psychology*. The pages next the cover are hurt, of course, in the process, and the leaves, having no longer any connection with each other, easily get crumpled and eventually lost. It is but fair to say of the lighter monthlies, like the *Century* and *Scribner's*, that the wires are inserted nearer the back, so that, by strongly bending open the sheets and pounding the inner angle with some heavy object, the magazine sometimes will open sufficiently to be read without springing to, although held in only one hand. More commonly, however, both hands must be actively used to keep even these magazines open enough for reading. Bookbinders inform me that the wires are, if anything, a greater curse to them than to the readers.

The last straw which has broken the camel's back of my patient American disposition, and elicited this public protest, is the sudden appearance of that admirable journal the *Philosophical Review*, hitherto decently stitched and openable, with its back pinched up in a spick-and-span suit of steel wires on which I have just notched another knife-blade. Now, even in our non-resistant land, cannot some protest be made which may shame the publishers? In no other land that I know do they venture so to count on the tameness of the consumer, although in other lands the prize of a cent and a fraction saved on each copy must be equally inviting.

The worst of it is, that in this, as in so many larger matters, the universality of an abuse is bringing up an entire generation in ignorance of any better practice. In a few years none of us will remember that there ever were stitched-backed magazines, and our souls will be resigned to steel wires as to overheated cars and concert-halls and blizzards. But before that time comes, cannot the newspapers say a single helpful word? Or, better still, cannot a handful of readers whose spirit is not yet entirely broken organize a boycott which may have some effect? When the *International Journal of Ethics* first appeared, it was in steel wires. A lively letter to the editor from a single subscriber brought about its reform, and it has been stitched and readable ever since. Other editors may have less power; but if even a small number of subscribers to a review were to address the publisher, stopping their subscriptions as long as steel wires should continue to bar the way, they *might* produce a change of heart. Will not some readers of these lines adopt the suggestion?—Truly yours, WILLIAM JAMES.

FLORENCE, October 27, 1892.

THE TEACHING OF SPELLING.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Ever since your article "English at Harvard, and Elsewhere" appeared, I have been looking for a discussion of our irrational way of teaching how to spell and for proposals toward a radical reform. Indeed, I have often wondered why it is that we should cling to a method so fundamentally wrong, and why more rational methods should not be adopted. The faults of method, as I conceive them, are these:

(1.) Spelling is taught in utter neglect of the one great law of memorizing, the law of association. To remember a thing by itself and without joining it in some way to a thing already known, is always a difficult matter. But just this is what the child is expected to do: he must remember how a given word is spelled when he has nothing to remember it by. To illustrate: The two words "there" and "their" are continually confounded; yet where is there a teacher who would employ such a simple device as this?—Write on the board the two words "there" and "their." Take the first of these words, draw a line between the *t* and the *h*, and say that when the *t* is dropped, we have "here." The words "here" and "there" are readily remembered as going together, and the pronoun "their" will not be brought in. Again, the words "two" and "too" are continually confounded throughout the grammar school and the high school. Yet what can be more simple than a radical cure like this?—Write the word "twice," which no body misspells, and call attention to the fact that "twice," meaning *two* times, has the letter *w* in it, just as has the numeral *two* from which it is derived.

I am fully aware that the great multitude of teachers at once object to such a plan as taking too much time. This is a grievous mistake on their part. Of course not every word in the language requires such treatment; it is true, however, that all the common and ever-recurring mistakes in spelling can be thus eradicated by very simple means. Nor is this an untried opinion, and any teacher of spelling who will devote a little attention (and inventive power) to the subject, will find all the common mistakes vanish as if by magic.

(2.) Our scholars are required to learn the spelling of words with which they are altogether unacquainted and which convey to them no meaning. This amounts to an absurdity. I was once present at an old-fashioned spelling-match held at a teachers' institute. The word "syzygy" was given out to spell, and Mr. Schmidt was called on to spell it. "I do not know the meaning of the word," said he; whereupon there was a burst of laughter at so foolish an excuse.

Why does not some industrious schoolmaster win laurels by writing (say) a 'Magic Speller' upon the plan indicated? Here is a fine field for the display of inventiveness and of wit and wisdom. And what a blessing it would be to see all the common mistakes banished!—Respectfully,

WERNER A. STILLE.

ST. LOUIS, November 5, 1892.

COLLEGE ENGLISH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As a contribution to the discussion of "English as she is wrote in our colleges," I en-

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close a clipping from the "Agricultural Department" of the *Ariel*, the weekly paper published by the students of the University of Minnesota. CORNELIUS.

ST. PAUL, November 9, 1892.

With this edition of the ARIEL the present editor of this department, having a very generous feeling for my fellow students, and not wishing to see any of them miss the advantage to receive the benefit that is always desired from a good honorable position, and having held the position for over one year, could not conscientiously hold it any longer, thereby standing in the way of some fellow student, therefore I resign, and have the pleasure of introducing to the readers of the ARIEL Mr. Thomas A. Haigh, a bright and energetic young man of the class of '94, who no doubt will fill the position better than it has been for the past year. We all wish him success in his new work. ED. AGR. DEPT.

Notes.

WARD, LOCK, BOWDEN & Co. will publish directly a 'History of the English Parliament, together with an Account of the Parliaments of Scotland and Ireland,' by G. Barnett Smith, in two octavo volumes, with facsimiles of documents pertinent to the theme, and the full text of Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, etc.

Charles H. Sergel & Co., Chicago, have undertaken an edition of Voltaire's works in English, in forty volumes, by way of commemorating the two-hundredth anniversary of his birth. They will also add to their Medallion Series three books by Alfred de Musset—'The Confession of a Child of the Century,' 'The Beauty Spot, and Other Stories,' and 'Barberine, and Other Comedies.' 'Chile,' in their Latin-American Republics Series, will be by Anson Uriel Hancock, and 'Mexico' probably by Gen. Lew Wallace.

Worthington Co. announce for immediate publication 'Intellectual Pursuits; or, Culture by Self-Help,' by Robert Waters, author of the 'Life of Cobbett.'

J. B. Lippincott Co. announce 'Mother and Child,' a book for domestic use, by Drs. E. P. Davis and John M. Keating.

The Appalachian Mountain Club will publish this week, through W. B. Clarke & Co., Boston, a beautifully illustrated work entitled 'The Land of the Cliff-Dwellers,' by Frederick H. Chapin, author of 'Mountaineering in Colorado.' As the title suggests, the work deals principally with natural scenery and archæology, yet a succinct presentation of the history of the settlement of the Southwest forms the introduction. The 180 pages of text are interspersed with some 60 full-page illustrations, phototypes and half-tones, made from the unusually fine set of photographs taken by the author, chiefly in the San Juan Mountains and in the labyrinth of cañons that cut the strange Mesa Verde of southwestern Colorado.

The letters of Heine to various members of his family, the publication of which we have already announced, are 122 in number, and are said to throw much light—much needed light, one might say—on a tender side of Heine's character. They will also add to what is known at present about the poet's marriage. Mme. Charlotte Embden, Heine's sister, who publishes the letters, is now ninety-two years old.

The Harpers publish in a dainty little volume 'The Desire of Beauty,' by the late Theodore Child. There is nothing especially new in the book, but it is pleasantly written and sound in doctrine, and in this sort of general criticism the author is at his best, being unhampered by that lack of specific knowledge of art which we have heretofore commented upon.

'Emma,' in two volumes, is the latest issue in Mr. Brimley Johnson's careful and elegant little edition of Jane Austen's novels (London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: Macmillan). The series is one to which we might wish there were no end.

There is very little art, but there is something of nature, in Zulma DeLacy Steele's charcoal landscape illustrations to Mrs. J. C. R. Dorr's verses, 'The Fallow Field.' The poem invites rather a purely decorative treatment, for only a *tour de force* could keep the pictorial treatment of a fallow field, in black and white, from being monotonous.

The Messrs. Putnam have struck an excellent vein in their annual holiday reproductions of Irving, and this year's "Agapida Edition" of the 'Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada,' in two volumes, seems to us the best of the series. The text is framed in a constantly diversified border of an arabesque pattern in red and pale olive, and the thirty photogravure illustrations embrace not only scenery and architecture, but also portraits, historic paintings, and antiquities. They are of very even merit and a real help to the reader. The cover is elaborately wrought in white, gold, and color. Altogether, here is a gift-book well devised.

Mr. Garrett's illustrations hardly furnish a ground for preferring to the English edition of Matthew Arnold's selected 'Poems of Wordsworth' the one now brought out by T. Y. Crowell & Co. They are unimportant in themselves, if once or twice graceful, and the typography does not approach the English in openness or beauty, while the volume is swelled and weighted by over-thick paper.

When it first appeared, a few years ago, Mr. Fitzgerald Molloy's 'Life and Adventures of Peg Woffington' was shown to be a readable compilation of careless gossip, put together with little regard for accuracy. A new edition has now been published by Dodd, Mead & Co., admirably printed, and illustrated by some three-score "process" plates, mostly portraits and views, and neither skilfully chosen nor carefully reproduced. The best portraits of contemporary actors and actresses have not been selected, and those selected have been processed rather muddily, often from inferior impressions. The theatrical portrait-gallery of the end of the last century is extraordinarily rich in beautiful mezzotint engravings, many of which could be reduced and reproduced inexpensively and very effectively. As it is, these two seemly volumes look as though they had just left the hands of one of the professional "extra-illustrators" who do cheap work in London for export to New York.

Charles Scribner's Sons have now published in a beautifully printed volume the 'Three Plays,' by W. E. Henley and R. L. Stevenson, of which we made mention a few weeks ago. The three plays are "Deacon Brodie," "Beau Austin," and "Admiral Guinea." To the two former are prefixed the names of the actors who performed in them during their brief career upon the stage; the third has not yet been tried by the light of the lamps. All three are interesting experiments, written with curious care, like all of Mr. Stevenson's work, and yet not convincingly dramatic. Perhaps the scene most likely to be effective in the theatre is the final one of "Admiral Guinea"; but it may be doubted whether this play would find quicker popular appreciation than its fellows. We may note that the authors had already printed "Deacon Brodie" privately twice, and that both of these versions differ more or less from that here presented. In conjunction with Mr. Henley, Mr. Stevenson has also written a fourth play, a version of "Robert Macaire," and he has also printed for his friends still a fifth play, written in collaboration with Mrs. Stevenson.

"C. de Hurst," author of a little manual, 'How Women Should Ride' (Harpers), is a *nom de guerre* suggestive of Long Island and of the dangerous cross-country riding which is indulged in by members of the hunting set. Hence, perhaps, an inconsistency by which, on the one hand, women's riding to hounds is countenanced, and, on the other, parents are warned not to allow girls under sixteen to ride at all. It would be easy to obtain the very best medical testimony in favor of allowing girls to ride in moderation at any age, even when a leading-rein is an indispensable safeguard, while experience seems to be constantly strengthening the case against female cross-country riders. With this exception, the author's suggestions and illustrations are excellent, the book is pleasantly written, and it will doubtless prove very useful to young riders.

In his 'Descriptive List of Novels and Tales dealing with Life in Russia' (Cambridge, Mass.), Mr. W. M. Griswold can enumerate only about 100, and these, with the selected notices of critical journals, fill only twenty-one pages. What is striking is the fact, now readily discernible, that Russian fiction began to be presented to English readers a great many years ago. There was as early as 1831 a translation of Thaddeus Bulgarin's 'Ivan Vejeeghan' put on the London market, and pirated here the next year. In 1850 two attempts are recorded; in 1853 Turgeneff's 'Annals of a Sportsman' appeared in Edinburgh, and an abridgment was borrowed by *Graham's Magazine* in 1854. Even Tolstoi's 'Childhood and Youth' found a London publisher as far back as 1862. With Eugene Schuyler's version of 'Fathers and Sons' in 1867, the tide began to rise steadily.

The Russian bibliographer Pavlenkoff, in a review of the book production in his native country for 1891, gives, among others, the following figures. During the past year there appeared in Russia, excluding Finland, 9,053 books and pamphlets in about 29,000,000 copies; of these, 6,588, in 23,000,000 copies, were in the Russian language, 840 in the Polish, 393 in German, 380 in Hebrew, and 219 in Lettisch. One of the most popular forms of literature in the Czar's land seems to be calendars, of which 229 were published, many of them in editions of over half a million. The most notable event in the Russian book world during this period was the expiration of the copyright of Lermontoff's works, in consequence of which ninety-two editions of them appeared in over a million copies. It is perhaps not wholly without significance that the largest class of publications was that of educational works, to the number of 574, exceeding belles-lettres by 65. The third largest number was medical. More than a third of the total number of publications appeared in St. Petersburg.

The Board of Women Managers of the State of New York for the Chicago Exposition have put forth a tentative 'List of Books and Articles by Women Native or Residents' of the State, which makes a creditable appearance. Notice of errors or omissions is desired to be sent to Mrs. Florence C. Ives, Assembly Parlors, Albany.

Miss Lucy M. Salmon, Professor of History in Vassar College, publishes a "Statistical Inquiry concerning Domestic Service" begun by her in 1888, the returns being collated by the

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Massachusetts Labor Bureau. The paper also appears among the publications of the American Statistical Association. Some 5,000 circulars addressed to employers were distributed, over 1,000 of which were answered. About 700 replies were received to the circulars issued to servants, but an employment bureau in Boston added information as to the wages paid in some 3,000 cases. From these returns it appears that more than half the persons engaged in domestic service are of foreign birth, and that more than half of these were born in Ireland. The average weekly wages are figured at $3.23. Miss Salmon argues that, considering the board and lodging furnished to servants, they are better off financially than ordinary working-women, and are able to save as much as teachers in the public schools. Many opinions were obtained as to the relations between mistress and maid, but we do not observe that any fruitful generalizations are derivable from them.

In the new Department for the Graduate Instruction of Women at the University of Pennsylvania, whose formal opening was noticed in these columns last May, there are thirty students. Some are doing special work in chemistry, biology, metallurgy, and history; but the majority are studying for the regular Ph.D. degree. A Philadelphia correspondent writes "that the success of these women students has been so great as to cause the serious consideration of changing the name and scope of the Department so as to permit women students to enter the undergraduate as well as the graduate schools of 'Old Penn,' making it possible for them to secure a majority of the degrees awarded by the University." Those friends of higher education who, from the first, hoped that this new departure of the University of Pennsylvania would prove the entering wedge which should eventually open all departments, but particularly the Medical, to women, can evidently cheer themselves by recalling the statements frankly made by the University authorities in the spring, that while they deemed it "inexpedient to admit women to any but the post-graduate courses," they believed that full co-education could be "safely and effectually conducted."

We have received the first number of the *Kansas University Quarterly*, published by the State University. Its five papers have for subject, "Universal Curves by Method of Inversion," "Foreign Settlements in Kansas," with a map, "The Great Spirit Spring Mound," "On Pascal's Limaçon and the Cardioid," and "Dialect Word-List."

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of American History* for October opens with a paper on the ancestry and earlier life of Washington, by the Rev. E. D. Neill, which is accompanied by a photo-engraving of the sketch for the first portrait of Washington, made in May, 1772, by Charles Willson Peale. It is now owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

F. Lhomme makes in *L'Art* for October 1 a forcible protest against the proposed statue to Baudelaire, which he suggests should be placed at the outlet of a sewer if erected at all. He calls it "awarding to this dirty jester the same honors as to Corneille, Molière, Lamartine—to those who have strengthened, delighted, and consoled mankind." In the same number is given a sketch of the statue of Alfred de Musset, from Georges Veyrat's recent work, 'Les Statues de l'Hôtel de Ville'; and two caricatures from life by the same poet, representing the Princess Belgiojoso ("Elle était belle, si la Nuit"), from the Vicomtesse de Janzé's 'Étude et Récits sur A. de Musset.'

Petermann's Mitteilungen for September contains the results of a series of observations of the northern lights made between September, 1882, and the following April, by Sophus Tromholt. After a description of the station, a Lapp village in the extreme north of Norway, and of the methods pursued by him, he gives numerous tables showing the intensity, height, extent, form, motion, etc., of the appearances. In the same number is the map of Emin Pasha's route during his recent expedition to the west of the Victoria and Albert Nyanzas. From this it appears that he was able to get within 150 kilometres of Wadelai, his former seat of government in the Equatorial Province, but that he did not succeed in pushing his explorations to the westward in the great forest. The country between the Albert and Albert Edward Lakes is mapped in considerable detail, but the course of the river uniting them is still left undetermined.

'The International Date Line,' by Henry Collins (Syracuse: Bardeen), is an instructive little pamphlet concerning the change of date commonly made on the Pacific Ocean. It is shown that the meridian of 180 degrees has not in this respect the importance generally attributed to it. In consequence of the curved course of the date line, varying its longitude between 117 degrees E. and 168 degrees W., the duration of any date, as January first, extends over 53 hours. Therefore, during five hours in the forenoon of New Year's Day with us, certain islands in the mid-Pacific are already in January 2, while the Philippine islands are still finishing December 31.

The Görlitz and the Rügenwalde sheets of Vogel's Map of the German Empire (Gotha: Perthes; New York: Westermann) have just been issued, and now of the twenty-seven squares into which the map has been divided, only one remains blank that does not touch a finished square.

—The Washington-Madison Papers (McGuire collection), to be sold in Philadelphia early next month, make the most important collection of historical MSS. ever sold in this country at public auction. The remarkable series of letters from leading Virginians are of high value as autographs, being fine specimens, but are of far greater interest from their contents. The Washingtons alone, upwards of seventy in number, written in the fullest confidence to Joseph Jones and James Madison, are unequalled; the only collection that can be compared to this is the Washington letters to Joseph Reed, sold in 1875. For a single letter of the Madison number the late James Lenox offered what was a fabulous price at the time, for it contained the first hints for a farewell address—the hints that four years later were developed into the address as issued. Apart from the Washingtons, the collection must stand unique in its series of letters from Joseph Jones (122), Edmund Pendleton (135), Edmund Randolph (132), John Armstrong (85), and Jonathan Dayton (17)—all to Madison, with more than 200 from Madison in return. It is impossible even to hint at the contents of these letters, but they are of exceeding interest. The sale is absolute: the Washingtons will be disposed of piece by piece—the others in series or lots. In the latter part of the catalogue are some letters of Washington to Tilghman, sold at auction before, but bid in by the family; some remarkable Revolutionary letters, and a unique Duché—a copy in his own hand of his famous letter to Washington. It is a striking evidence of the value of the greater part of this collection that the merit is at once seen in spite of the vagaries of the cataloguer, who has missed his vocation, and should be the writer of headlines on a twopenny dreadful. His misstatements are too numerous and glaring to require criticism, yet one calls for notice. Lot 90 is the *Journal* of the Constitutional Convention, not the *Debates*.

—The McGuire collection has twice been placed at the disposal of the Government, and offers a good illustration of the indifference of our officials to historical material. At the time Congress purchased the Madison Papers, it was due to the carelessness of its agent that these letters—the cream of the Madison collection—were not included. After they had honestly come into the possession of Mr. McGuire, the Government sought to establish a claim, but its own Attorney-General, Caleb Cushing, decided in favor of Mr. McGuire. Four years ago the attention of Mr. Bayard, then Secretary of State, was called to the possibility of purchasing them, and he at once opened a negotiation, which remained inactive through the neglect of Congress. A part of the Joseph Jones letters were printed, by Mr. Bayard's instructions, to show their historical value, but without exciting any intention on the part of Congress to seize the opportunity. The result is that the Government holds the so-called Madison Papers, while the more valuable, though smaller, portion of what the Government did not get, is to be scattered beyond recall. It may be added that three of the great collections of historical MSS. in the Department of State are in this curious position, viz.: the Jefferson, the Madison, and the Monroe papers, for in each case the Government holds but a part, and the descendants or representatives of these Presidents the rest. The neglect is the more shameful as copies of the McGuire could have been secured at no cost to the Department.

—A new edition of Herndon's 'Life of Abraham Lincoln,' revised and enlarged, has just been published in two attractive volumes by D. Appleton & Co. Among the new matter are an introduction by Horace White, a description of the Lincoln-Douglas campaign of 1858 by the same writer, who was Mr. Lincoln's travelling companion during the greater part of that celebrated contest, and an important chapter on Mr. Lincoln's speaking campaign in Massachusetts in 1848, which has been neglected by previous biographers. This chapter, and the excellent revision of the whole, are due to Mr. J. W. Weik, Mr. Herndon's fellow-worker in the preparation of the first edition. Some matter in the first edition which was objected to on the score of good taste, but was not essential to a true biography, has been omitted and the illustrations have been sifted and reëngraved. The three portraits of Lincoln are the best that exist, and not the least characteristic of these, the Lincoln of the Douglas debates, has never before been engraved. When this book first appeared, we said:

"Mr. Herndon's personal recollections of Lincoln will doubtless remain the most authentic and trustworthy source of information concerning the great man in the period prior to his elevation to the Presidency. His real subject is the growth and development of Lincoln's powers and character. From many other sources we may get fuller material for the part of Lincoln's career which properly belongs to history; but Herndon's narrative gives, as nothing else is likely to give, the material from which we may form a true picture of the man from infancy to maturity."

An examination of the work in its new dress and of the additions made to it confirms this

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view. The publishers are to be congratulated on the improved appearance of the volumes.

—A small volume just issued from the French press of Arthur Rousseau, Paris, must be taken as a significant sign of the times. 'The Political Condition of Women' (*Essai sur la Condition Politique de la Femme*, by Louis Frank, Docteur de la Faculté de Droit de Bologne, et Avocat à la Cour de Bruxelles), is the Rossi prize thesis in constitutional law for 1891. This prize is offered by the Law Department of the University of Paris, and the subject appointed for last year's competition was, "The Condition of Women with respect to the exercise of public duties and political rights: a comparative study of legislation." The thesis is an exhaustive study of the political rights of women, and a refutation of the accepted arguments against the recognition of such rights; its conclusion is, that the age of the subjection of women is rapidly passing away, and that in the new conditions we shall lose nothing and gain much. Those who dread the effect on women of a general acceptance of their rights and personality, may feel comforted by Dr. Frank's assurance that not even equality in political privileges will prevent women from devoting themselves with their habitual ardor to please the so-called superior sex. A supplement gives a full collection of laws and documents which set forth the present political rights of women in all civilized countries. From such accurate data it appears that, while the foundations of society are not thereby in any appreciable way disturbed, women have to-day full suffrage in Wyoming, Nova Scotia, the Isle of Man, Chili, Ecuador, and in five provinces of Austria. They have municipal suffrage in Austria-Hungary and Croatia, in Prussia, Saxony, and Brunswick; in the majority of the Scandinavian countries, *i.e.*, Sweden, Finland, and Iceland; in Russia, in England and Scotland, in all the English colonies from Cape Colony to New Zealand, and from Australia to Canada, and in the State of Kansas. In twenty-one of our States they have school suffrage.

—The latest grant of a "fair field and no favor" to women comes from the University of Edinburgh, which (in exercise of the discretion conferred by Ordinance 18 of the Scottish Universities Commissioners) on Wednesday, October 19, opened its Arts class-rooms to women students on the same terms as men. The Scotch lads thus brought face to face for the first time with coeducation promptly endorsed the decision of the University authorities for mixed classes, and "cordially cheered the new arrivals as they entered, accompanied by the Association for the University Education of Women." While numerous women students appeared in the classes in history, geology, logic, moral philosophy, mathematics, Latin, and in the Senior Greek Class, the "pressure" from the new contingent of University students was focussed in the class-room of Prof. Masson, a stanch friend of women, and a popular lecturer with "Tennyson" for his subject. His audience (640 men and 80 women) proving too large for the ordinary class-room, was adjourned naturally and without comment to a hall of more generous proportions. This final assimilation of the women's classes (conducted strictly on University lines of study, by University professors) with the University of Edinburgh finds six women waiting for their degrees, and one hundred and twenty in mid career for that honor, having already passed in several of the "sacred seven" subjects required by the orthodox curriculum. With this new departure of mixed classes, the University gives to all students a wider choice of subjects qualifying for a degree, and the results of such latitude in its effects on study and "honors" will be closely watched by Scotch educators. Although women, like the Irish, are being rapidly deprived of their traditional grievances, as in the case of the Irish also each fresh sop merely whets their appetite for more—the more in the case of the University of Edinburgh being that the grace now granted to women Arts students shall be extended to women Medical students, as has been done at the University of Glasgow.

—The October number of *Free Russia* gives some account of a little book just published by H. Georg, at Geneva, which will be of special interest. It contains, besides various political matters, the letters that passed between Herzen and Turgeneff from 1849 to 1869. These letters throw a good deal of new light upon the personal attitude of Turgeneff towards the revolutionary movement in Russia, as well as upon his relations with Herzen and his journal, the *Kolokol*. It appears that about 1860-61 Turgeneff took a very considerable part in editing that journal, both furnishing and inspiring articles denunciatory of the Government, some of which went so far as to attack personally the Czar himself. In 1862 a difference arose between him and Herzen. Turgeneff wished to begin an agitation for a representative assembly of deputies gathered from all the provinces. Herzen disliked constitutionalism, and the difference widened till the two men severed all relations with each other. The final breach was caused (according to Prof. Dragomanoff, the editor of the volume) by personal weakness on the part of Turgeneff. What sort of personal weakness is meant we are not told, but any one familiar with the story of Turgeneff's proposed duel with Tolstoi may perhaps guess it. The book has an appendix containing an account of the relations of Turgeneff with Dostoyevsky, and some personal details about Turgeneff contributed by the editor. Unhappily for most readers, the book is published in Russian; it should be put into English, or French, as doubtless it will be.

—In the latest fascicule of the *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, Renier and Luzio bring forward supplementary evidence of a new character to demonstrate that the 'Questio de aqua et terra,' so long attributed to Dante, is a sixteenth-century forgery. Unknown to the early biographers of and commentators on Dante, the 'Questio' first came to light in 1508, when it was published at Venice by Fra Benedetto Moncetti da Castiglione Aretino, who took the liberty of correcting Dante's handiwork "diligenter et accurate," according to the taste of the period. Little attention was paid to it at the time, and not until recently has it been reprinted with Dante's other works. As to its authenticity, scholars have been divided. Some, and with them a geologist of note, have maintained that Dante, upholding the proposition that the earth is everywhere higher than the surface of the sea, had so far penetrated into the secrets of nature as to divine several of the discoveries of later science—that of planetary attraction, among others; the opposing party finds that several of these revelations of genius were common to older writers, Brunetto Latini and Ristoro d'Arezzo, and that others are best accounted for by supposing that the 'Questio,' of which no manuscript is known to exist, was written shortly before its publication. As to the internal evidence, Renier and Luzio withhold their opinion, contenting themselves with publishing letters to and from Moncetti, and facts about him, that go far to make it antecedently probable that he would never have hesitated an instant to forge any document helpful to his ambitious projects. He was, it seems, greedy for high and lucrative church offices, which he eventually secured, and to obtain which he made a lavish use of dedicatory and congratulatory epistles. The 'Questio' is elaborately dedicated to Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, and is followed by numerous flattering poems of a certain Gavardi, his friend (and perhaps his sometime master), among them an epithalamium for the marriage of Alfonso d'Este with Lucrezia Borgia, whom he styles *sponsa pudica*. The accumulative evidence of trickery and wily flattery is not of course conclusive to prove the inauthenticity of the treatise, but it at least makes us resolve not to give Moncetti the benefit of many doubts in the trial by internal evidence.

STEPHENS'S ORATORS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

The Principal Speeches of the Statesmen and Orators of the French Revolution, 1789-1795. Edited with introductions, etc., by H. Morse Stephens. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. 1892.

WHAT is the essential difference between the Revolutionary eloquence of France and the Parliamentary speaking of England? This is a question raised and answered by the admirable treatise on French oratory which Mr. Morse Stephens has written as an introduction to his collection of orations delivered by Revolutionary leaders. The inquiry is, both from a literary and from an historical point of view, well worth consideration. The aim of this article is to set forth the answer either directly raised or immediately suggested by Mr. Morse Stephens's luminous analysis of the characteristics which marked the rhetoric or eloquence of France towards the end of the last century.

French eloquence is essentially a part of French literature:

"The French people have as much cause to be proud of their orators as of their actors; for the qualities which make them preëminent on the stage are likewise indispensable to the statesman in the tribune and the preacher in the pulpit. . . . A natural aptitude for speaking in public is supplemented by the use of a language peculiarly fitted for the turns and tropes of oratory, and by the systematic cultivation of the study of rhetoric. . . . Rhetoric as an art has always been sedulously cultivated in French schools and universities, and, while it has dropped out of the curriculum in most European countries, it has maintained its position in France as one of the most important branches of education."

These words of our author's, taken from a passage too long for complete quotation, but every line whereof is worth reading, contain the solution of the problem before us. The speeches published by Mr. Morse Stephens are nearly all of them elaborate literary productions; they differ in merit according to the varying talent of the different speakers, but they all belong rather to the world of letters than of politics. They were most of them read rather than spoken; they were written for publication; they are the work of the pen, not of the tongue; they tell of the closet and the lamp; they bear comparatively small traces of the readiness in repartee which belongs to debate, or of the cut and thrust which marks Parliamentary warfare. Still less are they

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infected by that quarter-sessions style which gives an air of commonplace dulness to the debates recorded in Hansard.

Many circumstances tended to give to French eloquence a tone which was always rhetorical and frequently theatrical. But our author has called attention to one fact of supreme importance which has hitherto, as far as we are aware, not received among English critics of the Revolution anything like due attention. The statesmen or the Revolutionists who came to the front in the States-General, in the Legislative Assembly, or in the Convention were many of them endowed with the highest oratorical gifts; but, whatever their natural talents, they had before them no native models of political oratory. Since the reign of Louis XIV., the Ministers who governed France, the men really acquainted with the art of administration, had not studied, because they had no temptation to study, the art of addressing or of leading a popular assembly. Real administrative ability, or skilfulness in intrigue, might raise a man of talent to power; but, under Louis XIV. and his successors, political office was not gained by eloquence. In the pulpit, on the bench, at the bar, in the literary academies which were scattered over France, or on the stage, eloquence might lead to fame and riches. Hence French oratory was either the oratory of the pulpit, the oratory of the judgment-seat, or the oratory of the Academy or the theatre. The inevitable result of this condition of things was that the speakers who sought to guide or charm Revolutionary assemblies which had suddenly become possessed of supreme power, spoke like preachers, like magistrates, like advocates, like Academicians, or like actors, but, except where individual genius, as in the case of Danton, broke through the trammels of literary tradition, hardly ever spoke like debaters or statesmen. To this must be added the consideration that, just because statesmanship or administrative ability was not allied with knowledge of affairs or capacity for conducting either Parliamentary or, indeed, any other kind of government, the actual business of conducting France through a period of unexampled peril fell into the hands of committees who addressed the ruling assembly through lengthy reports.

Mr. Morse Stephens has not been able to lighten the infamy which has made the name of Barère a by-word for meanness and faithlessness. He has, however, explained how it happened that the most worthless of a gang of villains should exercise the influence undoubtedly possessed by the Gascon liar and traitor. The explanation is, that the fluent pen of a ready writer, who could at any moment express, in a style which met the taste of the day, the wishes of whatever party happened to be in power, was a necessity for administrators who were forced to communicate with an assembly by means of written documents. Barère wrote reports, just as some scoundrels write leaders, with absolute indifference to the morality or the expediency of the policy of which he was for the day the advocate. Here again we come round to the fact from which we started, that French eloquence, during the height of the Revolution, was a portion of French literature. No doubt at the time when Barère played a leading part, French letters, in common with French eloquence, were under a cloud. When the policy of the nation is determined by an appeal not to argument but to the guillotine, it is impossible that men should reason forcibly either in writing or in speech. Still, Barère's position shows how important was in his time literary as compared with rhetorical ability. Except in the press, Barère, or a man like Barère, but of ten-fold his ability, would have been useless either to Pitt or to Fox. Parliamentary statesmen are themselves the guides of Parliament. They do not need, in Parliament at least, the services of a fluent and a bombastic rhetorician.

Let us, however, remember that French eloquence has gained as well as lost by its predominantly literary character. The speeches edited by Mr. Morse Stephens are, like almost all orations, written or spoken, dull reading. An address composed to influence hearers can hardly ever be well suited to the taste of readers. It is common knowledge that the words of men who sway, and rightly sway, the passions or judgment of popular assemblies, when put down in writing neither excite the feelings nor convince the reason of readers. Still, the Revolutionary oratory of France reads better than one might expect, and, to do French speakers justice, we must recollect that the whole taste of the eighteenth century was rhetorical. Much of the declamation which Mr. Morse Stephens repeats, sounds nowadays stilted and absurd. It is hardly possible for the reader to understand how Louvet's indictment against Robespierre produced the immense effect which critics who heard it attribute to it. We can, however, partly understand Louvet's immediate success when we reflect that the charges he brought against Robespierre were, as the event proved, substantially true, and that the effect of declamation depends upon the way in which it is delivered. It is easy enough to believe that the rhetoric of Louvet and the eloquence of Vergniaud derived at least half their force from the mode of delivery. Declamatory harangues are not easy reading; still, the speeches of the French orators are speeches which, in the mouth of a great rhetorician, might, conceivably at least, produce a grand oratorical effect. Robespierre is a preacher, and a dreary preacher, but even his painful sermons are not always deficient in at any rate the possibilities of rhetorical power. Can any one say as much for nine-tenths of the speeches which load with their heaviness the unread and unreadable pages of Hansard?

The Parliamentary oratory of England, if, indeed, it can be called oratory, is, both in its defects and in its merits, the exact antithesis to the eloquence of France. It is deficient in anything of literary character. Let any one, for example, try to read passages from the speeches of Peel, of Lord Russell, or of Palmerston. He may find in them a good deal of historical interest; he may, if he reads between the lines, see in them marks of debating power; but no one would dream of considering the speeches of these statesmen as in any sense contributions to the literature of England. Names, no doubt, occur to one of here and there an orator who has left behind him spoken words of literary merit. There are speeches of Burke's which will be read as long as the English tongue endures; but then Burke, with all his immense genius, was not preëminently successful as a speaker. His speeches are read partly for the very reasons which, when the speeches were delivered, made them comparatively ineffective as orations. It may well be doubted whether of recent times any speaker, except John Bright, has produced speeches which will be found permanently readable. On the other hand, English oratory, with all its literary faults, has the virtues inherent in its Parliamentary character. Speeches which read badly enough as compositions are often, as any intelligent critic can see, admirably suited for their purpose. The purpose of a Parliamentary speaker is to be effective in debate. It may be true, as Mr. Morse Stephens more than once asserts, that a speech in Parliament never changes a vote, though we suspect the statement to be to a certain extent exaggerated. It is certainly true that speeches, both in Parliament and out of Parliament, do indirectly, if not directly, affect the power and position of political parties. No doubt success in debate does not mean the same thing as success on a division; but debating talent would not be cultivated if it were worthless. If a new Cromwell were to close the doors of Parliament and, unlike the Protector, keep them permanently closed, capacity for arguing before a Parliamentary audience would soon die out in England.

This capacity for debate is no trifle; it means something more than mere rhetorical deftness. It means a certain knowledge of human nature and a power of dealing with men, or at lowest with men of a certain class. A glance or two at Danton's speeches will show that Danton was a born debater. Place Danton's terse reply to Roland's report side by side with Robespierre's lengthy answer to Louvet's indictment. They both in substance deal with the same thing. Neither Danton nor Robespierre can really get rid of the terrible responsibility for the massacres of September. Still, Danton's answer appeals to feelings sure to weigh, and to a certain extent rightly, with every assembly. It would have been as effective, if delivered under like circumstances, at Westminster as it was at Paris. Robespierre's speech contains some effective points, and one or two of them are so unlike the ordinary manner of the speaker that it is impossible not to conjecture they may have been suggested by Danton. But, on the whole, Robespierre's apology is as weak as it is lengthy. It was apparently effective at Paris. It is hard even now to understand how the maudlin hypocrisy of his rhetorical tears over the fate of the "one" innocent man who may have perished in the massacres of September, failed to excite irrepressible indignation. Was it, after all, the force of Robespierre's arguments or the power of the Parisian mob which induced the Convention to pass to the order of the day?

The capacity for debate which is as undoubtedly possessed by many English Parliamentary speakers as it was undoubtedly wanting in most of the Revolutionary orators, does not relieve the reader of Hansard from a sense of unutterable weariness. If he wishes to do justice to English Parliamentary speaking, he must note its real merit, which has absolutely nothing to do with literary ability. The speeches which English Parliamentary leaders deliver are spoken by men who, as a rule, are more or less versed in business. Their language is the language of politicians who have been in office or who expect to gain office. Many, again, of the audience are persons versed in local business or in commercial affairs. Quarter sessions or a counting-house are not schools of oratory; but a great deal is learned there of which the members of the Revolutionary assemblies were ignorant. The essential difference, in short, between the eloquent rhetoric of the Revolutionary era and the humdrum speechifying of the House of Commons is that the one was the outcome of French literary training, the other is the product of Parliamentary habits. A Revolutionary style produces a Revolutionary tone of thought; a Par-

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liamentary style produces a Parliamentary tone of feeling.

There is a very close connection between the oratory and the policy of the Revolution. At some future day we may point out to our readers some of the historical inferences suggested by Mr. Morse Stephens's book. It is a piece of excellent workmanship; it never should be out of the hands of any one who is studying the annals of the Revolution. On the present occasion it is enough to look at Mr. Morse Stephens's introduction as an essay on French eloquence. It is a charming essay in itself, and is specially interesting to any one who cares to work out the fundamental contrast between the French and the English type of character.

OLD ITALIAN MASTERS.

Old Italian Masters. Engraved by Timothy Cole. With historical notes by W. J. Stillman and brief comments by the engraver. The Century Co. 1892.

THIS reprint, in book form, of Mr. Cole's wonderful engravings from the old masters which appeared originally in the *Century Magazine*, makes a most interesting volume. It is interesting not only as the latest attempt at an elaborate series of renderings by engraving of the masterpieces of the Renaissance, but as the best that has been made, and as, perhaps, the last that is likely to be made. The very causes, apart from Mr. Cole's own talent, that have rendered such fidelity in copying possible are likely, henceforth, to render such copying superfluous.

Of Mr. Cole's talent or of the merit of these copies there can be no doubt. Mr. Cole is, in many qualities of his art, and those precisely the qualities most needful for the task he has undertaken, the first wood-engraver that ever lived. In delicacy, refinement, accuracy, subtlety of light and shade, beauty of tone, he has no equal. There have been engravers of more original force and vigor—engravers capable of a bolder and freer interpretation of nature or art—but never was an engraver so fitted by temperament and skill for the close and infinitely delicate copying of a work of art. To produce this work, however, it needed not only the man but the tool. The condition of the work was the development of modern wood-engraving, which, in its turn, is conditioned upon the development of photography. In Taine's phrase, "the *milieu* and the moment" were favorable to the production of the work. They are already beginning to be unfavorable to the production of such another.

Many of the older engravers upon copper and steel were artists of great power, but they had not been trained by photography to understand an accuracy of rendering essentially unfitted to their material, and they treated the pictures they engraved much as the earlier wood-engravers treated the drawing on the block, as material for the evolution of an independent work of art. As engraving much of their work is admirable, but as an aid to the study of the originals it is quite useless. Photography came and instructed the world, and a demand grew up for such reproduction of works of art as should give not only the composition of the original but its very touch. From this demand grew the modern art of wood-engraving, and wood-engraving as Mr. Cole practises it was, for a time, better than photography itself. Photography had very serious faults: yellow took black, and blue took white, and often the whole scheme of light and shade of a picture was thus completely disorganized. Photography had taught us to value accuracy of reproduction, but it was not itself accurate enough to supply the demand it had excited. This was the "moment" for such a work as Mr. Cole's. His engravings, at their best, are not only much more like their originals than any engravings that had ever been made, but they are, in some ways, more like than any ordinary photographs. Compare, for instance, his plate of the head of Botticelli's "Primavera" with the common photograph of the same head, and you will see at once the superiority of the former in light and the effect of color.

Wonderful as an interpretation may be, however, it is still an interpretation, and the student will prefer to use his own eyes and will distrust another's. We prefer, when we may, to read our art, like our literature, in the original. Even a bad photograph has this great advantage, that it has no personal equation; the page may be torn and blotted and hard to read, but it is not a translation; the statue may be mutilated, but it is not "restored." And photography has not stopped in its development. Within the last few years the orthochromatic process has been perfected, and photographs are now taken as marvellous in their rendering of tone and color-value as the first photographs were in their rendering of form, and as much beyond any hope of human rivalry. The day of the reproductive engraver is passing. Henceforth the sun will do our copying for us, and man cannot contend with Phœbus Apollo. The engraver must become an independent artist if he is to exist much longer. Therefore it is that we believe this book to be not only the best piece of work ever produced in its line, but to be the last very important piece of work in this line ever likely to be produced unless by the same hand.

Mr. Stillman's "Notes" are, of course, able and careful from the point of view of the archæologist and historian. As a critic his views are obviously colored by his extreme idealistic theories. He not only believes that the spirit is more than the form, and that imagination is better than naturalistic power, but he seems reluctant to find imagination in any work possessing anything like technical perfection. He has not only, in common with us all, an almost unbounded admiration for Giotto, but also a most hearty admiration for the smaller men that succeeded him. Orcagna he apparently places at the summit of art, "like Saul, head and shoulders above the crowd—great in all the great qualities of art." With Masaccio a marked coldness begins and increases to the end. Leonardo he thinks a realist, and considers him "the most luminous proof in the history of art that the really scientific and the completely artistic faculty do not coexist in one mind." Michelangelo he cannot help admiring, but he seems to do it grudgingly and to wish that the master had confined himself to sculpture, while he overlooks the most personal qualities of that artist, even as a sculptor, by calling the Pietà in St. Peter's "the most perfect of all his works." Raphael he finds "full of the graces that demoralize art," and he expresses his personal preference for "the earliest stage of his evolution" as shown in the "Madonna del Granduca." The great naturalistic schools naturally suffer still more. There is no word of praise for Titian except in the one phrase "the greatest of colorists," and no such word at all for Giorgione, while Veronese is only "the greatest of the decorative painters of the sixteenth century, *judged as decorator simply*," and Correggio meets with denunciation rather than praise.

Mr. Stillman maintains that there was no "return to nature" in the work of either Cimabue or Giotto, though his argument only tends to prove that they did not paint directly from nature, and not at all that they did not try to get more nature into their work than was to be found in Byzantine art. On the other hand, he can see in Masaccio only the initiator of that period of scientific and naturalistic research which followed him, and seems to miss altogether his peculiar merit, that of the man who, a hundred years before Raphael, prophesied the grand synthetizing style of that master. He seizes upon Dürer's remark that Bellini was still the best painter of Venice—Giorgione being dead and Titian more than forty-five years old—as a justification of his own judgment that Bellini "held the position in the school of Venice that Phidias did in that of Greece," without noting that Dürer's nature and training rendered him the most biassed of judges, and one who would inevitably decide in favor of the clear and finished work of Bellini as against the broader method of his successors.

"Later," says Mr. Stillman, "Giorgione and Titian revel in a far more complete abandonment to the fascinations of art and in the pursuit of 'art for art's sake,' just as in the Greek school Praxiteles and Scopas carried the triumphs of art, if not its refinements, to a stage beyond the Phidian. We give an intellectual adhesion to the preëminence of the Elgin marbles, but, in my opinion, every artist who is honest with himself says to himself that he enjoys the Hermes and the Venus of Milo more than the pediment of the Parthenon, just as he prefers the 'Sacred and Profane Love' to a masterpiece of Giovanni Bellini."

We have quoted this passage in full because it seems to us to show, more than anything in the volume, the errors into which a critic may be led by adherence to a theory; for almost any serious sculptor will tell us that he does *not* enjoy the Hermes more than the Parthenon marbles, and that precisely one of the things he most enjoys in the latter is the combination of ideal power with a magnificent *realism* (we insist upon the word) which is unequalled in any work, earlier or later, and which makes the Hermes, when compared with the Ilissus, look like a man of clay compared with a man of flesh and blood.

It is this same combination which marks the giants of the Renaissance, and Mr. Stillman's dislike of realism in any form blinds him to their noble ideal power and leads him to misjudge them. He will not allow that all progress in art has been made through the careful and *scientific* study of nature. Realism as an end is bad, but as a means it is invaluable. Genius is incommunicable, but when it comes, the better the tool it finds to its hand, the better the result. When the highest genius uses as its tool the most perfect technique, the true masterpiece is born, but there are always some who cannot see the genius for the very perfection of the technique, and who cry out for the work that seems to have greater meaning because it certainly has little else.

We will touch on a minor point or two. Mr. Stillman denies that Titian was a "pupil" of Giorgione, and, in the strict sense of that word, he is probably right; but we think he goes too far in denying any considerable influence of one upon the other, and in maintaining that everything characteristic of their art is derivable directly from Bellini. In this contention he seems to ignore the technical manner of painting. Either Giorgione or Titian,

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or both of them, invented the modern method of painting, with heavy masses of color, called impasto. Bellini painted thinly to the end. The probability seems to be that Giorgione was the more precocious genius of the two, and first broke with the traditions of the school of Bellini and initiated the new method, and that the tradition is right that makes Titian his follower, if not, strictly speaking, his pupil. A misprint on page 216 makes Mr. Stillman put Perugino's death a hundred years too early, while a strange slip of the pen makes him speak of Louis XIV. as reigning in 1563 or thereabout. It is a pity that the generally chronological arrangement of the Notes should be disregarded in several instances, most unaccountably in that of the notice of Carpaccio, which is placed immediately after those of Lorenzo Lotto and Luini. To the careless reader this is likely to prove a stumbling-block. In the life of Veronese it is stated that when he came to Venice, in 1555, Tintoretto was "absorbed in his great undertaking at the School of St. Rochus"; yet in the life of the latter the date of the first competition for that work is given as 1560, and Veronese himself is stated to have been one of his competitors.

The "Notes by the Engraver" are full of a naïve charm, and, while not free from the vice of reading profound meanings into the blunders of early painters, often show a deeper sympathy with the artist discussed, not to say a truer insight into his methods, than do Mr. Stillman's more formal criticisms. In conclusion a word should be spoken for the wonderfully perfect printing of the blocks by Mr. De-Vinne, which is much in advance of what was always possible in the *Century*, and almost doubles the value of the work.

Favorite Flies and their Histories. By Mary Orvis Marbury. With many replies from practical anglers to inquiries concerning how, when, and where to use them. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

MRS. MARBURY is a daughter of Mr. Orvis, a dealer in artificial flies, and the illustrations with which the book abounds are copies, lithographed in colors, of his handiwork. This and the constant references to the Orvis factory are likely to make a carping reader think the work was intended chiefly as an advertisement of the goods of this especial brand. There is, however, much of interest in the book, and Mrs. Marbury, when she writes herself, shows a familiarity with entomology and a love of nature that make one wish she had contributed more largely to the volume, and not confined herself to 50 or 60 pages. The other 400 and odd are chiefly made up of letters written to Mr. Orvis, in response to inquiries made by him, from anglers in all parts of this country, with regard to the kinds of flies used in the localities where they fished. As may be imagined, this disconnected mass of letters, though instructive to a limited extent, is not at all fascinating reading. Of the colored plates of flies there are about 300, which will give an idea of what a man should have to be thoroughly equipped for angling from the natural Orvis standpoint, assuming, of course, that the fly-book should contain an assortment of sizes of each kind. The fact is, that this great multitude of flies for any kind of fishing is the most arrant nonsense, as certainly two-thirds of them are so nearly alike that no trout, bass, or salmon could tell the difference. Pennell perhaps goes to the other extreme in claiming that half a dozen are sufficient, but his outfit on the whole would be about as satisfactory as, and infinitely cheaper than, the other.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Adams, W. H. D. Warriors of the Crescent. Appletons.
Austen, Frances V. Elfie's Visit to Cloudland and the Moon. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. $1.25.
Baker, Sarah S. Our Elder Brother: Thoughts for Every Sunday in the Year. Randolph. $1.50.
Barrie, J. M. A Holiday in Bed, and Other Sketches. New York Publishing Co.
Clark, Imogen. The Las' Day. Randolph. 60 cents.
Deland, Mrs. Margaret. The Story of a Child. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.
Endlich, F. M. Manual of Qualitative Blowpipe Analysis and Determinative Mineralogy. Scientific Publishing Co. $4.
Farrar, Capt. C. A. J. Through the Wilds: A Record of Sport and Adventure in the Forests of New Hampshire and Maine. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. $2.50.
Griffis, Rev. W. E. Japan in History, Folk Lore and Art. [Riverside Library for Young People.] Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 75 cents.
Hale, Lucretia P. Stories for Children. Leach, Shewell & Sanborn. 40 cents.
Little One's Annual. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. $1.75.
Molesworth, Mrs. The Girls and I. Macmillan. $1.
Our Little Men and Women. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. $1.25.
Palmer, Fanny P. A Dead Level, and Other Episodes. Buffalo: C. W. Moulton.
Ryle, Prof. H. E. The Early Narratives of Genesis. Macmillan.
Scannell, Florence and Edith. Christmas in Many Lands. 4 vols. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. $2.
Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. Vol. VI. Longmans, Green & Co.
Westerkamp, Prof. J. B. Staatenbund und Bundesstaat. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus.

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